

inappropriate for politics. While this gives the pro choice movement its majority over the issue, it also makes the public very comfortable with a policy of silent accommodation with abortion rights.

V. DOLE'S MOVE TO THE CENTER-- CREDIBLE AND EFFECTIVE

A. Dole moderating conservative views and moving to center as he runs for Pres or has he always been a moderate

Always moderate: 49
moderating views to run: 39

People buy his move to the center

B. but it is a device to get votes--

Device to get votes 53
was always a moderate: 40

C. Likelihood of vote for Dole based on move to center

More: 41
Less: 50

Does him some good, performs above vote share

D. Answer: remind them of his record

Critics of Dole say he says he's in the center and moderate, but Medicare cuts, Medicaid cuts, education, environ--meant it when he cut it and should be held responsible now

More likely Dole: 25
Less likely Dole: 66

VI. EFFECT OF LAMM CANDIDACY

A. Big positive for us

1. He will attack us, but will be auditioning for their voters

A. The opposite of Nader who will be attacking Dole and auditioning
For our voters

2. He gives the undecided a place to go

3. He forces Dole to wage a positive campaign to keep his votes from going
To Lamm

A. Lamm will outclass Dole positives

B. See Dole's primary performance

4. For example, this week, Perot dropped from 14 to 11 and all the votes went
To Dole

A. Leading division is pro and anti incumbent

1. He splits the anti-Clinton vote

B. Clinton is more popular among pro-Clinton voters than Dole is with
Anti-Clinton voters

1. We will always do better at holding our vote in a three way
Than Dole will

B. We should pray that Lamm gets FEC funding so he can do Dole damage

1. Even if he runs wall to wall anti-Clinton ads, he attracts votes that would
Otherwise go to Dole...does us a huge favor.

A. If he attacked Dole, it would hurt us since he would audition for our
Vote

C. Lamm's positions make him easy to disqualify for our voters

1. Lamm proposed Medicare cuts up to 5 times as large as the Republicans
In Congress

More likely: 8

Less likely: 79 (65 much less)

2. Some people say that half of Medicare is spent in last year of life and it is time
to re-examine how we spend our medical funds because we are spending
Too much money on the elderly in the final stages of their lives. Others
Say that this is an inhumane attitude and older Americans should be
Entitled to the same quality of medical treatment as any other American

Inhumane attitude: 81

Re-examine spending 16

---Duty to die quote would be even worse for him

VII. CRIME VICTIMS AMENDMENT

A. Support constitutional amendment by 87-10 (69 strong support)

B. Argument: don't need amendment, can use statute vs. If give criminals const rights, must give same to victims

61-31 support amendment

C. If Dole for Amendment and Clinton opposed:

Agree Dole: 53

Agree Clinton: 37

VIII. CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT

A. Support 64-24

B. Argument: will generate jobs, make up for lost revenue, cost no money

Vs

Not realistic, won't pay for itself, fuzzy thinking, lead to deficits
Little new investment or jobs, just make rich richer

Still support: 52-39

C. If Clinton backed capital gains cut

More likely: 51

Less likely: 35

D. If Clinton said use money it generates for homeowner exemption

Support 48-36

E. If Clinton said use money for investments in inner city and jobs for welfare
Recipients

Support 61-30

Evidence of post-welfare reform liberalism I've been predicting

Call this Welfare Reform Part 2 and make it a key theme of second term

F. Against argument that Clinton is flip-flopping

Still more likely vote Clinton 45-42

G. Against argument that Clinton is pandering

44-42

H. Recommendation:

Cut capital gains rate (not retroactivity and not indexing)

**Summers says this will not cost anything and will add \$10 billion
In revenues**

**Suggest using the money for some form of welfare recipient or inner city
Job creation and investment incentive**

**Pandering and flip-flopping arguments won't catch up with the positive and
With the chance to talk about welfare job creation**

IX. CLINTON GROWTH IN OFFICE -- FOR USE IN INTERVIEWS

NEW IDEAS

A. Expand family leave -- broad support

- 1. Now only for 50 or more employees, expand to all businesses**

Support 64-31 (strong support 49)

- 2. Expand to businesses with 25 or more**

Support 73-24

- 3. Argument: supporters say basic right; opponents say huge hardship for
Business with one or two employees**

Still support 58-38

4. Small business impact

A. OK with owners for over 25 employees --

13% of electorate own small business or spouse does

1. expand to all 45-51
2. Expand to over 25: 61-36
3. Head to head vote

B. Very popular with small business employees --

57% of electorate work for firms of under 50 employees
Or have spouse that does

35% work in firms of under 25 employees or have spouse that
does

1. Expand to all -- 73-28 (among under 50 empl)
2. Expand to over 25 employees -- 81-18
3. Head to head vote

**5. Recommendation: Go strongly for it. Dole has to oppose it. Make it a
Key issue in the election**

B. Drug tests for Parolees

1. Support requiring states to drug test parolees and lock up again if using

81-14 (63% strong support)

2. Funding: Just make the test a mandate which requires funding; make the
Re-imprisonment something we talk about, but not strictly part of
The legal requirement so we don't have to pay for everybody's prison
System

C. Holding parents responsible for crimes of kids

1. Back liability for civil damages for actions of children

72-22 (46 strong support)

2. Argument: will force parental control, make sure they are accountable

V

Unreasonable to expect parental control 24 hours a day
In punishing parents, we punish the wrong people

Still support 64-29

MISC

A. Public is evenly split on denying education to illegal immigrants

47-49

Arguments for denying education

No obligation to pay for families that broke our laws	70-28
Discourage others from coming	75-22

Arguments against denying education

Kids did nothing wrong, don't punish them	65-33
Deport them, but while here, keep in school	63-32

Two sided argument:

Costs \$6 bil to educate them, spend money on American kids -- 41

Vs

Turned loose hundreds of thousands roam streets -- 55

Post-Argument vote:

49-47 no change

Analysis by voter segment:

	Pro	Anti
Clinton base	33	63
Swing One	52	47
Swing Two	52	48
Dole Base	61	33
Minorities	35	62

Must do all we can to avoid having to make a decision

But, at the end of the day, we won't lose a single vote if we sign it, but will
Lose a lot if we veto

Must not issue veto threat unless we are sure that such a threat will underscore
A successful filibuster which will assure that we won't really have to
Veto it

Analysis:

B. Progress on TV Network/Paul Taylor negotiations

1. Suggest key priority is to avoid roadblocks

C. Environment as foreign policy issue -- of some use, but limited

In last series on foreign policy, we neglected to test the environment as an issue

1. Is protecting global environment important 52 rated it highly

(On our list, this places it below: terror, Iraq-Iran, drug flow, isolationist
Arguments, trade, values, Russia, China, Korea, but ahead of
Protecting American interests, Bosnia, Mideast, Haiti)

Not very strong relatively

2. Is it credible that Clinton has done a lot to protect the global environment

Yes: 31 No: 30

3. Who better on global environment:

Clinton: 55 Dole: 28

4. As negative on Dole that he wouldn't do enough for global environ

True: 27 Not true: 35

Important to you? 68-15

D Oppose letting parents sue schools to stop teaching things they don't like

By

27-68

D. Use of Internet for Campaign

1. 17% use Internet for "more than just casual purposes"

2. 20% have Internet account

3. Use for:

E-mail 40

Research 23

Entertain 19

Getting news 7

Shopping 2

Getting political information 2

4. So, news isn't normal form of use, but --

If Clinton had a live Q and A session on Internet would you watch?

If have Internet hookup:

Very interested: 19

Some what interested 28

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JUNE 20, 1996

I. TRACKING POLL DATA -- AMAZINGLY, NO SLIPPAGE DESPITE POUNDING

A. Head to head steady at 52-38

1. both dropped a point from 53-39 last week
2. first week since May 7 without any slippage
3. In our media buy 54-37 (17 pts)
Out of media buy 51-39 (12 pts)
 - a. out of buy includes areas where ads started on Tues
4. Published polls:

CNN (today)	19 pts
Wash Post	20
NY Times	19
CNN-old	6 (now repudiated, in effect by new poll)

B. Job approval at historic high of 61

1. except for one week at 62, this is our highest level

C. Favorability of 60-40

1. two points below all time historic one week high of 62

D Hillary Favorability is at 47-46

June 19: 47
June 11: 48
June 5: 49
May 28: 47
May 22: 54
May 14: 51

1. After drop in May, no real change in past few weeks

E. Whitewater-FBI

1. 65% had heard of FBI story but it made only 37% less likely to

(1)

vote for Clinton

2. 43% had heard of Freeh saying he was victimized by White House, but it made only 31% less likely to vote for Clinton

3.. Was President Clinton involved in wrongdoing? - 32 yes

a. answers on this question have ranged between 31-37

b. so 34 represents no increase

4. Was Hillary involved in wrongdoing? - 48 yes

a. her range has been 44-50

b. so this represents no increase for either

5. Did investigations show the Clintons are responsible for a lot of wrongdoing? -Yes 39, No 35

a. not cutting very much

6. Voters regard D'Amato inquiry as partisan

a. Do you think that Congressional hearings by D'Amato are a serious fair inquiry into Whitewater or are they politically driven to try to discredit the President by keeping old stories in the news as the election approaches

serious, fair: 23
politically driven: 68

Clinton base: 7-74
Swing I 13-78
Swing 2 28-52
Dole base: 61-30

b. For Starr:

serious, fair: 31
political driven: 59

Clinton base: 6-86
Swing 1: 13-78
Swing 2: 30-58

2

Dole Base: 59-30

7. Who are the voters who are less likely to vote for Clinton because of

FBI files issue:

Clinton base: 14%

Swing I: 6%

Swing 2: 28%

Dole Base: 71%

a. Only people affected are those against us anyway

8. Net of exchange on Whitewater didn't hurt with swing I and base

does the Whitewater committee report challenging Hillary's credibility and charging a pattern of coverups surrounding her role make you more likely Clinton or Dole

total	34- Cl	44-D
Clinton base	77	3
Swing I	45	21
Swing II	11	54
Dole base	4	85

9. Lindsay as unindicted coconspirator could present a problem

1. makes 56% less likely to vote for Clinton, including 32% much less likely

2. People break even on whether this is a political trick by Starr (41%) or shows serious wrongdoing (43%)

F. But ... Dole favorability rose again to 52-43

1. Closing gap in favorability

2. Rise in recent weeks:

June 19: 52

June 11: 51

June 5: 48

(3)

May 28:48

3. But Dole rise in adjectives has basically stopped

a. Dole Gained: 4 Clinton gained: 3 No change: 5

b. Dole gained:

Strong leader Dole gained 7
Vision for future: gained 6
effective gained 5
in touch with my values: 2

c. No change:

on my side
takes clear stand on issues
doing a lot to balance the budget
offers new ideas
does things because they are the right thing to do

d. Clinton gained:

Peacemaker Clinton gained 2
Flip flops Clinton improved 1
Doing right even if unpopular 1

4. On issues, Dole move also stopped

a. Clinton gained on 3, Dole gained on 4, No change on 1

b. Dole gained:

education +11
foreign policy +10
crime +7
economy +2

c. no change on defense and military

d. Clinton gained

welfare +5
taxes +2
health care +1

4

5. But expansion of negatives into new buying area that started two days ago should be effective in blunting this rise

II. NEWS REPORTS OF THE WEEK -- HUGE BIAS AGAINST US

A. TV NEWS -- 2:1 ANTI CLINTON RATIO CONTINUES

1. Summary for week of June 12-19

Pro Clinton: 14 min. (all church fire stories)	Pro Dole: 4 min (Ohio speech, Russian elections)
Anti-Dole 3 min (tobacco)	Anti-Clinton 32 min (FBI, Whitewater)
TOTAL Helps Cl: 17	Hurts Cl: 36

2. Topics, total allocated time:

1. Russian elections:	67 minutes
2. Whitewater/FBI	58 minutes
3. Freeman	29 minutes
4. Church fires	28
5. Valujet	10
6. Internet decision	8
7. IRA bombing	6
8. Redistricting	6
9. Tobacco/candidat	4
10. Same sex	4
11. Bosnia	3
12. Military sex haras	2
13. Japan air crash	2
14 Lott as leader	1
15 Symington	1

C. Day by Day

	Clinton	Dole
6-12	Church fires (2 nets) FBI (1)	Ohio speech (1)

(5)

6-13	Same sex (1) Churches (2) Redistricting (1)	Same sex (1)
6-14	FBI (1)	FBI (3) Tobacco (1)
6-15	none	Tobacco (1)
6-16	non	Russian election (2) Whitewater (1)
6-17	Churches (2) Whitewater (1)	none
6-18	Whitewater (1)	none
6-19	Whitewater (3) FBI (3) Paula Jones(1) Churches (2)	none

D. Press Review for the Week

1. We reviewed up to 25 dailies around the nation in swing states.

2. We do it daily now. Here is the weekly % of the papers that ran each topic on their front pages during the week

(100% would mean that the story topic was on the front page every day in all 25 papers)

Whitewater/FBI/Lindsey net	65%
Whitewater	28%
Lindsey	24%
FBI	17%
Russian Election	15%
Church fires	10
HIV	7
Income gap rich v poor widens	3
China trade	3
Polly Klass killing	3

fought to deny welfare, food stamps

The Republican immigration bill refused to raise penalties
when employers hire illegals

Opportunity

President Clinton proposes tax breaks for tuition

The Dole Gingrich budget slashed scholarships

President Clinton's plan protects our values

3. Polling data on immigration:

- a. illegal immigration has increased in past year 65-4
- b. In January, 96, people did not believe Clinton had stemmed
the flow of illegal immigrants from Mexico by 33-54
- c. In Feb, 96, people found a negative attack on us over
immigration very convincing

Clinton has failed miserably to stop illegal immigration
People are pouring in over our borders, driving down
American wages, living off welfare, bringing in drugs
crowding our schools, and causing crime, we need a
President who is ready to crack down on illegal immig-
ration, not one who closes his eyes

very convincing: 45
somewhat convincing: 24

not very or not at all convincing: 31

closed head to head 14 pts

- d. But, when read Clinton's record of increased border patrols
50%, more deportations, and ban on fedl contracts to
those hiring illegals, they approve of Clinton record by
67-20

- 1. are more likely to vote for Clinton by 47-14
(tested on March 5)

9

X

e. national data shows break even on ed for illegals, California mirrors this finding:

Calif only: deny ed to illegals 47-48

deny to new students, don't throw out old ones: 51-48

C. We are mall testing response and polling on the issue tonight and this weekend

1. will have recommendation Monday morning

2. request meeting time to get quick approval

D. New ads which have tested well:

1. Values

2. Stop Them

3. Tobacco -- being tested tonight

F. Impact of watering down a negative ad -- Dole as taxer

1. Showings of old negative that worked and watered down one that didn't

2. Deleting bad pictures of Dole and deleting the 35 year line significantly weakened the impact of the ad

IV. THE PANDER ISSUE

A. Concern is that substantive positions now are seen as a pander race with Dole and a desperate attempt to counter FBI and Whitewater

B. Conventional wisdom is now that your polls are not down

C. Just as the public is following the stories it chooses : churches, not FBI, so it sorts through the chaff of press accusations to find the wheat of the issue

D. Just as nobody on our staff can understand why we haven't fallen
(because voters can and will defy media spin especially when ads are running)

So, too many overrate the danger that press spin and pander attacks will

10

X

undermine the substance of what we are doing

E. This concern threatens to deny us the free media hits we need at exactly the time that we need them the most

--the political equivalent of bleeding the patient when he is sick and most needs blood

V. COMP TIME -- URGE WE DO IT IN NASHVILLE

A. Great issue--

Makes people more likely to vote for you by 64-24

B. Garrin did a phony poll for labor on the issue. He biased the question by phrasing it as if employers would decide which to give employees overtime pay or time off. Even so --

people backed it in our version of his poll by 56-39

C. But when told that the employee would have the option, not the employer

people backed comp time by 76-16

D. With argument:

some say employers could pressure employees to take time not money
(32)

vs

employees would, as a practical matter have free choice (62)

E. If comp time required to pay time if they lay off workers or he leaves

more likely C1 52 less likely 14 no difference 23

F. If labor doesn't come off its opposition, it is just time for you to declare a bit of independence here. They don't own you. We're glad they're advertising. But most of it is congressionally aimed and we can do more for our members and insurgents by winning by a big margin than by

assuaging labor.

Also, they have no place to go

VI. CHURCHES

- A. This issue is holding us afloat and aloft almost by itself
- B. Our event yesterday was the fourth straight event in which we really didn't *propose anything of substance*
- C. Must revisit issue to make clear that we are going to protect churches, not just investigate arson
- D. Urge a definite plan, state-by-state, which we tell the media all about each day to defend and guard churches
 - 1. Use Dems like Hunt and Chiles to set up models. Then press Repubs to join in implementation
 - 2. Feed lots of stories of federal agents and local cops deploying to protect churches
- E. If arson continues, then we should use this to escalate our actions leading to the inevitable, which is use of the Guard in concert with Governors
 - 1. If Governors don't cooperate, and arson continues, we can isolate the Governor and lay a case which leads to federalization
 - a. don't forget, many are racist Republicans -- like Fordice -- with no more national credibility than Wallace or Barnett or Faubus had.

VII. VICTIMS AMENDMENT

- A. No matter what, lets do it on Tuesday
 - 1. If not, we won't do it until mid July
 - 2. If Dole uses this issue, he can get back on top on crime
 - 3. Word is getting out to press and that could force Dole move if we don't move

VIII. G 7 TRIP

A. Urge that you use arrival speech opportunity for major foreign address

1. We've never gotten an ounce of credit on Russia on any network
2. We will be dark on Wed and Thurs as things now stand -- need to get on

B. Substance:

1. How our economy is leading the world
 - a. G7 kept on our case about deficit. We fixed it and now we are doing great
 - b. (by implication, the only nation that is doing great is us)
2. Iran blast on terrorism
3. Criteria for foreign policy in modern world:
 - a. strength (we lead Dole on this by 20 pts)
 - b. steadiness in commitment to our values
 - c. judgment in assessing new situations
innovation in meeting new challenges
flexibility in adapting to changes(we lead Dole on all three, the last two by a lot)

IX. FCC VOTE

Coming up on Thursday

We need to send out letter urging good vote to make issue ours' when it happens

X. NO NEED -- NO NEED FOR GET WELL SPEECH ON FBI AND WHITEWATER

A. Remember how press conference when you answered charges against Hillary backfired and people felt it was now your scandal (when you said you'd punch Safire if you weren't President)

X

- B. People aren't taking this seriously and all your comments could do is make them take a second look at it

XI. DOLE'S IMPROVING IMAGE

- A. Since May 7, Dole's favorability has climbed from 45 to 52, while Clinton's has remained even at 59

1. He's closing the gap on favorables which would presage movement on vote share

- B. Percent saying Dole has improved - declined - stay the same

Will get things done - 32-15-45
Vital enough to be President 31-21-42
Strong effective leader 30-14-52
High moral character 30-9-53
Vision for future 28-17-45

Honest 21-14-60
Consistent 20-23-52

XII. WHAT WAS CLINTON'S FIRST TERM ALL ABOUT -- WHAT HE'LL DO IN SECOND TERM

- A. Best summary of what Clinton did in first term -- Opportunity and Responsibility:

1. BEST THEME: He worked to provide citizens with opportunity and demanded from them personal responsibility -- 70% more likely

- a. Best specifics behind it:

immunization
V Chip/ TV Ratings
Tobacco Ads
Deadbeat Dads
College scholarships
Family leave

(with specifics: 79% more likely)

2. Other themes:

- Maintained America's leadership at home and abroad - 64
- Protected children - 61
- Prepared us for 21st Century - 59
- House was in disarray, straightened it out - 58
- Transcended brain dead choices of past with new approaches -
- Stopped rt. wing Repubs from ruining country - 55
- Seemed like sunset for America, but Clinton stepped in and prepared us for next century - 53

B. Agenda for Second Term -- in order of popularity

1. Deadbeat Dads: 55 much more; 86 total likely to vote for Clinton
2. Welfare Reform -- Work for Welfare: 50 much more; 87 total more
3. Education standards -- tests for promotion 50 much; 83 total more
4. Empowerment zones, create jobs for welfare to work: 46/77
5. Cut corp subsidies and use funds to shore up Medicare, Soc Sec 43/77
6. Tobacco ads 43/76
7. Balance the budget 42/77
8. Worker training 41/79
9. School construction 40/78
10. tuition tax aid 40/75
11. Go after teen gangs 40/75
12. Computers in school 38/76
13. Cut abortion by making inter-racial adoption easier 34/74
14. Extend family leave 33/71

C. Great Agenda

1. Is this enough?

too much -- 18

enough -- 41

not enough -- 28

2. Is it realistic

can make progress -- 50

not realistic -- 49

(pretty good given cynicism)

XIII. WOODWARD BOOK WILL SAY YOU GOVERN BY POLLS

A. Here is list of unpopular actions you have taken despite polls --

Flag burning amendment

School prayer amendment

Bal budg amendment

anti busing amendment

Bosnia

Mexico bailout

Nafta

Affirmative Action

Prop 187

Haiti

China MFN

Wouldn't deny aid to unmarried mothers

Wouldn't deny ed to illegals

Preserved benefits for legal immigrants

opposed term limits

vetoed partial birth abortion

opposed restricting US participation in peacekeeping under UN

Product liability veto

Securities reform veto

16



**XIV. ABORTION -- DOLE HAS FOUND A WAY TO BLUNT IT
OUR COUNTER MOVE MUST BE ADOPTION**

A. We retain a basic lead on abortion

1. People agree with Clinton over Dole, unaided, by 56-25

a. They agree with Democrats over Republicans by 56-27

b. When offered their choices on abortion:

expand right to abortion	25	
maintain current rights		38
further restrictions	17	
ban almost all abortions	15	

B Dole's move to the center cannot be defeated by referring to Republican support for a constitutional amendment

1. tested:

Republicans tolerant on abortion; all sides should feel comfortable in party; abortion shouldn't stop anyone from voting for Dole - 40

vs.

Dole and Republicans back constitutional amendment banning abortions, not really tolerant supporting them just helps pro-life cause - 38

2. Therefore, neither constitutional amendment argument nor appointing pro-life judges works

3. Dole has effectively nullified abortion as an issue in the way it has worked for the past 30 years; must come up with new approach

C. RU-486 approval won't help any

1. break even on approval - 48-44

**2. more likely to vote for Clinton if favored approval - 41
more likely to vote for Dole if opposed approval - 36**

D. Only effective answer is to match Dole's move to the center by adoption

Tested:

We need to keep abortion safe and legal and make it rare.

- enforce statutory rape laws
- birth control material in schools with parental OK
- interracial adoptions
- adoption tax credit

These are things we can all agree on, should work together to achieve these goals

more likely: 64-27

(but, tested separately, the birth control part of this proposal is a little risky. More on that next week)

XV. NEW IDEAS

A. Violence on Children's TV

1. Major concern; strong support for network voluntary curbs

- a. Urge networks to restrict violence in children's programming particularly on such children's shows as Power Rangers and Mutant Ninja Turtles

Much more likely to vote Cl 36

Total more likely: 71

less likely: 23

2. Suggest this be the theme of our network summit in July

B. Toys that are based on violence

- 1. Urge toy manufacturers to label their toys based on violence and sexual content, like movies are rated, so also to discourage mothers from buying violent or sexually suggestive toys for children

Much more likely to vote Cl: 31

Total More likely: 67

- 2. Set up a program where children and mothers could trade in their gun toys for books

18

X

Much more likely: 41
Total more likely: 81

3. Suggest outreach to toy manufacturers and children's' book publishers to announce such a program

C. National computer bank to track child sex abusers

1. Does great like all sex issues

a. 58 more likely; 84 total likely

2. With arguments:

some say computer bank invades privacy, stigmatizes for life after served time (6)

vs

necessary, repeat offenders, community right to know (86)

D. Empowerment zone preference on set asides

1. Support giving a preference when govt contracts to companies that relocate into inner cities where the poorest people live

76-18

2. Argument:

help welfare get work become productive, improve neighborhoods (60)

vs

treat all equally, no preferences (34)

E. Alternative Sentences for Minor crimes

1. When kids commit petty crimes like graffiti, should they receive fines and jail sentences, suspended sentences, or be given alternative sentences such as community work or clean up

X

alternative: 87%

2. Argument: too soft, let people off the hook vs sends the right message of teaching responsibility for their actions

support alternative sentences 82-14

3. If Clinton urged each state to do alternative sentencing

66-21

- F. Assign social workers to work in teams with police to bring social services along with the police as they do their law enforcement

70-23

1. Some say social work is not part of policing and that this would divert police from their real duties (29)

vs

much of police work involves home situations that require immediate social work and that would help reduce crime (67)

2. But not for federal personnel

not appropriate for federal law enforcement personnel

but OK for local 67

Inappropriate for all police, shouldn't be involved 26

3. Proposal: that we require social workers hired with fedl money to work in teams with community based policing

XVI. SENATE RACES -- HUGE, HUGE ANTI-INCUMBENT MOOD REGARDLESS OF PARTY

- A. 9 of 16 incumbents are under 50%

1. Usually, just 2-3 are

- B. Democrats Up for Re-election (from most recent published poll)

Wellstone 42%

(20)

X

Harkin 46
Baucus 49
Kerry 49

Levin 54
Rock 69
Biden 71

C. Republicans up for Re-election

Pressler 38
Smith 40
Helms 46
Gramm 47
Thurmond 49

McConnell 50
Craig 54
Thompson 57
Warner 58

D. In open seats, Dems lead now in 11 of 13

Ark Bryant up 22
La Landrieu up 21
Ill Durbin up 20
Ore Ruggere up 12
Ga Cleland up 10
Me Brennan 10
RI Reed up 7
Kan Thompson up 7
NJ Torecilli up 6
Wyo Carpan up 5
Neb Nelson up 4
Kan Docking up 1

Ala Browder down 7 (Bedford down 17)
Col Strickland down 7

E. Lesson:

- a. When we move up, we carry Congress
- b. We had better pass some bills in a damn hurry unless we want to lose a whole lot of our incumbents

XVII. MISCELLANEOUS

INTERNET CASE

1. break even on court decision 48-44
 - a. break even on appealing it 44-49
2. But when issue is phrased in terms of free speech vs. restricting access
to children, support for ruling drops to 36-62
3. Suggest we keep looking for an out:
 - a. one idea, which we'll test next week, is to try the V chip approach on internet self policing as opposed to an appeal
 - b. possible augmentation is to make a criminal act of seeking to avoid V chip (called Gateway for the internet) coding to send out pornography

22

X

2.

Vice-President
Gore

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, JUNE 25, 1996

I. TRACKING -- THE ANTI-GRAVITY-CONTINUES

A. Head to head -- no change from last week or week before -- 52-38

1. Slide which began on May 22, seems to have ended on June 11

a. since then, notable for its stability

2. In buy: 54-37
Out buy: 49-42

B. Internals solid

1. Job approval at 60 (down 1)

2. Favorability at 59 (down 1)

3. Re-elect number at 52 (new record high--up 3)

C. Dole favorability drops 2 to 50 after three week rise

1. May 7 45
May 14 48
May 22 50
May 28 48
June 5 48
June 11 51
June 19 52
June 24 50

(1)

D. Impact of FBI/Whitewater/Seance Stories --- Only on Swing II and Dole voters

(More likely Clinton/More likely Dole)

	FBI	Whitewater	Seance
Total	38-34	39-42	37-35
(30%) Cl base	73-5	78-4	82-2
(22%) Swing I	44-12	53-26	42-10
(17%) Swing II	19-36	15-52	10-45
(31%) Dole base	8-82	2-87	3-79

Swing I and Swing II voters are not paying close attention to WW/FBI

E. . We also are beginning to turn both FBI and Whitewater Report around

Change in Impact of FBI/Whitewater from last week to this week

	Last Week	This Week	Gain/Loss
FBI	21-37	38-34	+20
Whitewater	34-44	39-42	+ 7

1. Must NOT issue a Presidential statement or interview or anything on FBI or any other such issue

a. It just makes it the President's issue and his negative when it isn't now

b. See comparison with what happened in the "punch Satire in nose" press conference

F. Hillary favorability up 2 to 49

1. Is Hillary hurting ticker? --- Is Dole hurting their ticket???

a. Her favorability and Dole's are about even and pretty much always have been

b no need to "hide" her; she should do as much as she wants and be as active and visible as she wishes

2. On Convention poll, we neglected to ask Tipper's favorability -- its 46-23

G. Adjective Comparison -- Solid gains on adjectives Cl up on 7, Dole up on 2

	Clinton	Dole	Change
Flip flops on issues	58	25	+11 (pro-Cl movement)
Has vision for future	54	35	+8
Strong leader	47	44	+8
Takes clear stands on issues	41	44	+4
Offers new ideas	56	31	+4
Peacemaker in the world	64	24	+3
On my side	51	37	+1
Does things because right	45	41	0
In touch with my values	49	41	-1
Effective	42	44	-1

H. Issue Comparison -- Gains on all eight issues

Crime	50	40	+13
Balance budget	44	34	+8
Foreign Policy	51	41	+7
Education	58	31	+6
Welfare	54	36	+5
Taxes	45	44	+4
Health Care	57	33	+3
Defense and Military	36	52	+2
Economy	48	46	+1

Strategic imperative is:

- * a 10-12 point lead in favorability
- * a 20-40 point lead on liberal issues like ed, env, medicare
- * a lead on conservative issues like: crime, bal bud, welfare, taxes

--most difficult is the third task. We now satisfy this criteria

I. Hillary--Eleanor Communicating with spirits---no real political impact

1. Have you heard of Hillary consult spirit advisor, talks to Eleanor? 77%

a. More likely vote: Clinton 37 Dole 35

b. More/less favorable to Hillary? More: 36 less: 46

c. Hillary reached out for fringe elements to help her cope: 27
Hillary just trying to examine how Eleanor responded to
difficult situations as first lady: 54

d. Was Hillary trying to actually communicate with Eleanor: 17

or just trying to examine how Eleanor responded to
criticism as first lady: 60

e. Do you believe it is possible to communicate with the spirits
of people who have died

Yes: 25 No: 65

f. They don't believe she was doing anything weird, they buy that
she was just thinking of how Eleanor might respond. But it
still has a slight impact on Hillary favorability, but not much
on Clinton's vote share

g. Better this than FBI, better FBI than Whitewater, better Whitewater
than issue attacks on Clinton

J. Negative Campaigning

1. Who is doing more negative campaigning?

Cl 26 Dole 47

Look back:
(Margin of Dole over Clinton on neg campaigning)

May 7	30
May 14	35
May 22	24
May 28	34
June 5	29
June 11	27
June 19	23
June 24	21

Gap closes, but....Clinton is doing better on waging positive race

2. Is Clinton spending too much time attacking Dole and not enough talking about his own positive ideas?

Yes 34 no 57 —

Clinton margin of no over yes:

May 7	16
May 14	19
May 22	20
May 28	14
June 5	11
June 11	6
June 19	14
June 24	23

In light of these solid gains, I do not attach much significance to the gap closing on who is more negative

3. Is Dole too negative?

Yes 67 No 24 -- little change over the entire period

K. Budget Comparison -- our position vs Republicans improves, but Dole is escaping blame by leaving

1. Who trust more to balance budget: up 2 to Repub: 46 Cl: 42
2. Who trust more to balance fair to all up 4 to Repub: 40 Cl: 51
3. Who more to blame for failure down 1 to Repub 44 Cl: 40
4. Who more to blame for failure on bal bud, tax cut, welfare

big drop from Cl: 37 Dole: 40 to Cl: 46 D: 38

a. He's not still here and we are.

1. He's no longer of this world

b. Potentially quite dangerous

c. Need legislative progress

5. Whose plan favor: up 8 from Cl 45 R 41 to C 50 R 38

II. WEEKLY NEWS SUMMARY

A. Inputs

1. TV Network News Monitoring

a. Bias of coverage:

(6/20-24)

Pro Clinton: 15 min
Neg Dole 13 min

Pro Dole: 1
Neg Clinton 44

Good for Clinton: 28

Good for Dole: 45

(Last week: 17-36 negative
Week before: 20-58 negative)

Cumulative 3 weeks

Good for Clinton: 65
Bad for Clinton: 139

b. Topics in TV news:

Arab summit	21 minutes
FBI files	12 minutes
Hillary/Eleanor	11 minutes
Abortion	10
AIDS	10
3 strikes unconst	8

Clinton--sex abusers	6
Dems family agenda	4
Paula Jones	4
Wild fires	4
AFSCME speech-- neg labor link	4
Clinton/Chicago	3
Domestic violence in Ky	3
Pope in Germany	3
Abortion/Dems	2
GOP convention	2

Iraq chem weapons	2
Admin problems	2
Church fires	1
Dole running mates	1
Nabisco	1

c. Stories on Campaign, day by day

	Clinton	Dole
Th, 6-20	N-Whitewater(1) N-FBI (2)	none
Fri, 6-21	P-AFSCME speech(1) N-FBI (3) N-Labor money(1) N-Abortion(1)	N-Abortion (2)
Sat 6-22	P-sex offenders(3) N-Travel Docs(2) N-Hillary seance(1) N-FBI(2)	N-Abortion(3) P-Ethics attack (1) N-Conven '92 mistakes(1)
Sun 6-23	N-Hillary seance(2) N-First famly siege(1) P-Dem agenda(3) N-FBI (2)	N-Abortion(1) P-running mates(2)
Mon 6-24	P-Flex time(2) N-Hillary seance(3) N-Paula Jones(3) N-FBI(1)	none

2. Newspaper monitoring in 15 key states

(Friday, Monday, Tuesday)

Total with front pages having negative Clinton stories: 49%

Total with front pages having positive Clinton stories: 11%

% Of time story was on front pages of 25 newspapers combined

Arab Summit	20%
Hillary/Psychic	20
Yeltsin fires aides	15
FBI Files	15
Comp time/fam leave	12
Paula Jones	11
Olympics	7
Church fires	7
3 strikes unconst	6
MOVE bombing	6
Gingrich	3
Soft money ban	3
Space Shuttle	3
Valujet	3
Polio Shots	3
Lindsey	1
Whitewater	1
Abortion/GOP	1

B. Outputs -- Effects

Summary of Did you hear of:

a. Investigation of FBI files? 64%

1. More likely: Clinton: 38 Dole: 34

2. Innocent mistake: 22 Coverup: 59

3. They think we are lying, but they don't care about the issue.
It just doesn't grab them.

b. Republican dispute on abortion in platform? 48%

1. More likely Clinton: 46 Dole: 31

c. Dole's considering list of VP Choices? 37

1. More likely Clinton: 40 Dole: 27

d. Dole's criticism of Clinton ethics? 42%

1. More likely Clinton: 42 Dole: 27

2. Dole does himself no favors and Clinton no damage when he attacks Clinton ethics

e. Whitewater Committee charge Hillary coverups? 68

1. More likely Clinton: 39 Dole: 42

2. Report proves wrongdoing, Clintons tried to derail invest: 36

vs

Politically motivated, ignored facts and evidence: 53

f. Lindsey unindicted co-conspirator? 52%

1. More likely: Clinton: 41 Dole: 32

2. Political trick by Starr: 44

vs

Shows serious wrongdoing: 38

g. Clinton Administration opposes UN Boutros-Ghali re-election 26

1. More likely: Clinton: 41 Dole: 19

III. NEW STUMP SPEECH

A. Three simple ideas for 21st Century:

1. Keep American dream alive for everyone,
2. Come together with greater sense of community and family
3. Make America greatest force for peace and freedom in world

62-28

B. Achieve greater community and family if basic bargain: opportunity/responsibility

65-25

C. Economy

1. New approach to economic opportunity. Cut deficit, trade, invested in people. Said would create 8 mil jobs, actually created 9.7 mil -- 54-36

Or

2. Same with partisan shots at Republican doomsayers, job killer etc. --62-32

--Makes sense to do partisan comparison

D. Crime

1. New approach: 100,000 cops...Brady Bill...assault rifles....60,000 felons and fugitives....results clear: crime too high, but down for three years -- 57-35

Or

2. Same with partisan shots -- 68-24

--Partisanship makes sense here again

E. Welfare

1. New approach: responsibility...welfare to work...day care..new jobs.... health care for kids...Waited for Republican action...now quiet revolution, Times says...waivers 40 states...result: 1 million off welfare, 40% child support increase, exec order stay in school for moms 71-23

--here, again, partisanship works

F. Family and Medical Leave

1. Make sure people have tools to bring up children...never choose between success at job and at home...family leave...12 million have used --70-22

Or

2. Same but with partisan shots -- 76-16

G. TV Violence and Cigarette Ads

1. Protect kids from violence on TV...V chip...rating system...cigarette ads aimed at kids...3000 smoke each day, 1000 die from it
64-26

Or

2. same with partisan shots -- 72-19

H. Father responsibility

1. Responsibility from parents...father child support...teen pregnancy fought in high school....domestic violence hot line

78-17

I. 95 Budget fight

1. 95 showed critical choices....Medicare, Medicaid, ed, env contrasts

65-29

J. Face 21st century get young people ready

1. Changes sweeping world...lifetime health, ed, pensions...min wage...health reform....college...adult upgrade skills...comm college free...

65-28

K. Give parents tools

1. Flex time...family leave expansion

73-20

L. Best days ahead of us

1. Age of possibility...meet challenges...protect values...cannot stand still
in time of change 66-28

Or

2. Same with Republicans go backwards 71-20

Partisan attacks help the stump speech message in every case

--theory of comparing Clinton to Dole, not to utopia

--same reason for our ads using comparisons, not just pre positives

Head to head: 57-34

Comparison of Stump Themes:

Family leave -- partisan	76-16
Flex time/family leave	73-20
V Chip/Tobacco	72-19
Welfare -- partisan	71-23
Best days ahead/meet challenges of future - partisan	71-20
Crime -- partisan	68-24
Opportunity/Responsibility	65-25
Prepare young for 21st century	65-28
Budget battle -- partisan	65-29
3 themes -- dream alive, family-community, Amer for peace free	62-28
Economic Opportunity -- partisan	62-32

-- all work very well. Great new speech

-- suggest avoid other ideas, but focus on these

-- partisan comparisons always work better

-- values: family leave, flex time, V chip, tobacco all work the best

--economic opportunity does OK, but isn't key element of speech any
more, values are

-- In a sense, we are updating your stump speech to sound more like
the ads

IV. CLINTON'S FIRST TERM ALL ABOUT --WHAT HE'LL DO IN SECOND TERM

A. Best summary of what Clinton did in first term -- Opportunity and Responsibility:

1. BEST THEME: He worked to provide citizens with opportunity and demanded from them personal responsibility -- 70% more likely

a. Best specifics behind it:

Immunization
V Chip/ TV Ratings
Tobacco Ads
Deadbeat Dads
College scholarships
Family leave

(with specifics: 79% more likely)

2. Other themes:

- Maintained America's leadership at home and abroad - 64
- Protected children - 61
- Prepared us for 21st Century - 59
- House was in disarray, straightened it out - 58
- Transcended brain dead choices of past with new approaches - 56
- Stopped rt. wing Republicans from ruining country - 55
- Seemed like sunset for America, but Clinton stepped in and prepared us for next century - 53

B. Agenda for Second Term -- in order of popularity

1. Deadbeat Dads: 55 much more; 86 total likely to vote for Clinton
 - a. They feel increasing child support a lot is realistic 71-29
2. Welfare Reform -- Work for Welfare: 50 much more; 87 total more
 - a. They feel making welfare recipients work is realistic 77-21
3. Education standards -- tests for promotion 50 much; 83 total more

4. Empowerment zones, create jobs for welfare to work: 46/77
5. Health care benefits for 6 months after person loses job 44/71
6. Cut corp subsidies and use funds to shore up Medicare, Soc Sec 43/77
7. Tobacco ads 43/76
8. Balance the budget 42/77
9. Worker training 41/79
10. School construction 40/78
11. Tuition tax aid 40/75
 - a. They feel expanding number of children in college is realistic - 60-37
12. Go after teen gangs 40/75
13. Computers in school 38/76
14. Cut abortion by making inter-racial adoption easier 34/74
15. Cutting teen pregnancy 34/63
 - a. Is it realistic? 48-50
16. Extend family leave 33/71

C. Great Agenda

1. Is this enough?

too much -- 18
 enough -- 41
 not enough -- 28

2. Is it realistic?

can make progress -- 50
 not realistic -- 49

(pretty good given cynicism)

V. NEW IDEAS

A. New Issue against Dole: His vote to block grant and cap (and therefore cut by \$400 Million) funds for child protective services

B. Violence on Children's TV

1. Major concern; strong support for network voluntary curbs

a. Urge networks to restrict violence in children's programming particularly on such children's shows as Power Rangers and Mutant Ninja Turtles

Much more likely to vote Cl 36

Total more likely: 71

less likely: 23

2. Suggest this be the theme of our network summit in July

C. Separation of Juveniles from Adult criminals in prisons—Hatch Bill backfires big time

1. Hatch and McCollum both have bill to end federal requirement that adults and juveniles be separated in jails

2. Public strongly backs separation: 73-19 (after argument)

3. Dole backs Hatch bill

D. Support govt funds to pay for health insurance for 6 months for people who lose their jobs

71-23 (44% strong support)

1. Reed remembers cost estimate as about 2 billion/year

2. In our current budget and paid for in that budget

a. Nobody knows its there

b. Can use it as part of second term agenda without increased

cost

c. We should identify this as the next step after Kennedy-Kassenbaum, once it passes

E. Brady Bill Expansion

1. Bar handgun purchases by anyone who has been convicted of a Misdemeanor offense under domestic violence law?

75-21 (61 strong support)

2. Argument:

Domestic violence usually misdemeanor, but law now only bars felons
No spousal abuser should have a gun--62

Vs

Misdemeanor is minor, long time ago, not grounds to deny a gun -- 30

3. If amendment barred handguns to anyone with a 10 year old or less misdemeanor conviction?

68-25

4. This issue comes from a bill by Lautenberg.

--He says every year, there are 150,000 domestic violence crimes committed with a gun

5. Great new issue! Recommend we go with it. Keeps gun control alive and takes it directly into violence against women

F. Require hospitals to identify fathers to get medicaid funds

83-14 (incl 64 strong support)

Great new issue, let's use it!

G. Allow mothers to sue state to get help in collecting child support funds

71-22 (incl 55 strong)

H. School Construction

1. Support major program to provide funds to localities for school construction and repair

81-12 (includes 52 strong support)

2. \$8 billion for school construction and repair to build or renovate 25% more schools a year for the next four years?

76-18 (incl 51 strong)

3. Support/oppose if aid conditioned on being open throughout day and into evening as community center for youth and elderly

71-21 (incl 42 strong)

4. Support/oppose if aid conditioned on raising educational standards and kids must pass state-formulated tests to promote?

74-19 (incl 50 strong)

5. Program great, money works, community center tack works.

--may be a way into education standards issue with federal mandate, but we will poll to develop it more

- a. I was surprised, it's the first federal mandate on educ that works but we need more testing to check it out with arguments

I. Toys that are based on violence

1. Urge toy manufacturers to label their toys based on violence and sexual content, like movies are rated, so also to discourage mothers from buying violent or sexually suggestive toys for children

Much more likely to vote Cl: 31
Total More likely: 67

2. Set up a program where children and mothers could trade in their gun toys for books

Much more likely: 41

Total more likely: 81

3. Suggest outreach to toy manufacturers and children's book publishers

I. Alternative Sentences for Minor crimes

1. When kids commit petty crimes like graffiti, should they receive fines and jail sentences, suspended sentences, or be given alternative sentences such as community work or clean up

alternative: 87%

2. Argument: too soft, let people off the hook vs sends the right message of teaching responsibility for their actions

support alternative sentences 82-14

3. If Clinton urged each state to do alternative sentencing

66-21□

K. Social workers linking with community based police officers in patrols

71-26

1. Still support even after argument:

Some say social work is not part of policing and that this would divert police from their real duties—29%

Vs.

Much of police work involves home situations that require immediate social work and that would help reduce crime-67%

2. Would favor requirement of such teaming up for social service agencies that use federal funds -- 57-36

3. Recommend we move on it

VI. SENATE RACES -- HUGE, HUGE ANTI-INCUMBENT MOOD REGARDLESS OF PARTY

A. 9 of 16 incumbents are under 50%

1. Usually, just 2-3 are

B. Democrats Up for Re-election (from most recent published poll)

Wellstone 42%

Harkin 46

Baucus 49

Kerry 49

Levin 54

Rockefeller 69

Biden 71

C. Republicans up for Re-election

Pressler 38

Smith 40

Helms 46

Gramm 47

Thurmond 49

McConnell 50

Craig 54

Thompson 57

Warner 58

D. In open seats, Dems lead now in 11 of 13

RI Reed up 25

Ark Bryant up 22

La Landrieu up 21

Ill Durbin up 20

Ore Ruggere up 12

Ga Cleland up 10

Me Brennan up 10

NJ Torricelli up 8

Kan Thompson up 7

Wyo Carpan up 5

Neb Nelson up 4

Kan Docking up 1

Ala Browder down 7 (Bedford down 17)
Col Strickland down 7

E. Lesson:

- a. When we move up, we carry Congress
- b. We had better pass some bills in a damn hurry unless we want to lose a whole lot of our incumbents ☐

VII. ABORTION -- DOLE HAS FOUND A WAY TO BLUNT IT
OUR COUNTER MOVE MUST BE ADOPTION

A. We retain a basic lead on abortion

- 1. People agree with Clinton over Dole, unaided, by 56-25
 - a. They agree with Democrats over Republicans by 56-27
 - b. When offered their choices on abortion:

expand right to abortion	25
maintain current rights	38
further restrictions	17
ban almost all abortions	15

B. Dole's move to the center cannot be defeated by referring to Republican support for a constitutional amendment

1. tested:

Republicans tolerant on abortion; all sides should feel comfortable in party; abortion shouldn't stop anyone from voting for Dole - 40

vs.

Dole and Republicans back constitutional amendment banning abortions; not really tolerant; supporting them just helps pro-life cause - 38

- 2. Therefore, neither constitutional amendment argument nor appointing pro-life judges works
- 3. Dole has effectively nullified abortion as an issue in the way it has

worked for the past 30 years; must come up with new approach

C. RU-486 approval won't help any

1. break even on approval - 48-44
2. more likely to vote for Clinton if favored approval - 41
more likely to vote for Dole if opposed approval - 36

D. Would even support broader inclusionary language in our platform

1. Should the Democratic party include a clause ... "many people may disagree with this approach and we recognize their right to do so and nevertheless welcome them into the Democratic party"? 63-28
2. I am not including this to suggest it, but to show how much our abortion position has been undermined.

E. Only effective answer is to match Dole's move to the center by adoption

Tested:

We need to keep abortion safe and legal and make it rare.

- enforce statutory rape laws
- birth control material in schools with parental OK
- interracial adoptions
- adoption tax credit

These are things we can all agree on, should work together to achieve these goals

more likely: 64-27

(but, tested separately, the birth control part of this proposal is a little risky. More on that next week)□

VIII. FOREIGN POLICY THEMES

A. Indispensable nation

"America only indispensable nation. Our values..democracy..beacon of hope...Our economy drives global economy....our military...makes difference between peace and war and loss of innocent life....Must remain strong to meet challenges, but never squander strength on excessive intervention, but not withdraw...world depends on us"

1. Agree/Disagree 84-14
2. More/less likely vote Clinton 58-26
3. Head to head 55-38

B. Strength, Steadiness, Judgment Qualities in world leader today

"3 qualities for global leader...strength...to take lead and action...Steadfast in commitment to values...Judgment to adapt and flexible to changing global situations...World totally different from cold war and leader must have flexibility and judgment to cope with change"

1. Agree/Disagree: 94-3
2. More/Less Likely vote Clinton 59-29
3. Head to head 56-37

Recommend departure speech emphasizing latter theme

--best shot because it sets up Dole contrast over innovation and coping with change

IX. CONVENTION

A. Theme nights:

1. Idea has been suggested of theme nights for the 7-9 PM period each night of the convention. This is pre-network and the idea is to attract viewers by the nature of the theme

2. Ranking of likelihood of watching it theme is:

(ranked by much more likely to watch)

1. Improving the lives of children: 56
2. Improving education: 55
3. Fighting Crime: 49
4. Reforming welfare: 49
5. Helping families: 42
6. Protecting the environment: 41
7. Protecting medicare and medicaid: 40

B. Speakers

Who would make you more favorable to Clinton if they spoke at convention:

Walter Cronkite	32
John Kennedy Jr	30
Bill Gates	27
Oprah Winfrey	26

(We did not ask about Christopher Reeve but he tested very well
In previous poll)

Caroline Kennedy	23
Maya Angelou	22
Michael Douglas	22
Ray Charles	21
Sally Ride	21
Aretha Franklin	19
Whitney Houston	19
Tom Hanks	18
Magic Johnson	16
Michael Jordan	16
Garth Brooks	15
Reba McIntyre	15
Lily Tomlin	14
Gloria Estefan	13
Garrison Keilor	12
Travis Tritt	10
Michael Bolton	9
Tricia Yearwood	9

X. MISC

A. Social Security Preservation

1. Voters agree, by 76-19, that Social Security is running out of money
And that it is necessary to take measures to shore it up or it
will go bankrupt in the next 30-40 years

2. But, they disagree with all the major proposals to fix it:

Raise retirement age to 70 for those now under 35	39-60
---	-------

Cut retirement benefits for those now under 35	26-68
--	-------

3. Switching funds from corporate tax breaks to shoring up SS system

64-32

- a. but, when argued that tax breaks encourage jobs, they switch to break even

43-44

- 4. They support "increased education...so that workers can become more productive and afford to support the social security system even when a larger number of people are collecting benefits"

58-35

- 5. Conclusion: There is really nothing you can do here except get hurt and it would be very bad to deal with this before the election

- a. Urge you keep comments on the education/productivity focus so one worker can support more elderly

- 6. This is on a short list of remaining ways we can blow this lead

B. Internet Indecent Materials Decision

- 1. Break even on decision by 46-48
- 2. But, when argued about free speech vs restricting access, they flip and strongly oppose this decision by 36-62
- 3. We get some back, but not all when we posit a voluntary ratings system by software "which will give parents the ability to stop their children from accessing this kind of sexual material"

They still want to appeal court ruling by 57-40

- 4. We're not there yet, we need to test other options

PRIVATE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT

A. BOSNIA

1. As you know, voters would be less likely to vote for Dole if he moved away from one year commitment by

24-56

2. And would like it if you affirmed 1 year commitment by

56-28

3. BUT, I know that you need the threat of staying there to keep the Serbs from messing up the election, and
4. We can't do nothing because of the Gingrich letter challenging you to restate the one year commitment, so.....

5. I propose you issue a statement:

- reaffirming 1 year commitment in strong terms
- not knocking Dole, since we don't need the issue
- and saying that "But we will monitor carefully the conduct of all sides in the election in September and I just want to warn those who are thinking of disruption, that, as my predecessor Ronald Reagan said: "An American President never says never"

6. Longer term policy:

- respond to provocations very toughly, especially around their elections
- even if we have US casualties, public will like tough response
- but no fishing expeditions to round up Karadzic and Mladic
- no attrition casualties -- get in, hit hard, suffer what losses we may and Get out of raid
- but, don't renege on 1 year commitment, instead use Reagan language, looking ominous, that never say never

D. PERSONAL NOTE

1. I just want you to know that I refused to speak to Time, Woodward, Wall St. Journal or any of the other pieces that are coming out about me. They are all done without my co-operation or involvement
2. Weld denied, on the record, yesterday that I said you would be indicted, as reported in the Woodward book: Weld said "I don't remember Morris ever saying anything disloyal about Bill Clinton" and noted that "He told me to stay out of the 96 race because Clinton would be popular" (Covered in USA today)

Doing right thing for people.

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JULY 3

I. TRACKING -- STILL 14 PT LEAD; ALTHOUGH DOLE FAV RISES

A. Head to head: 53-39 -- was 52-38 --both Dole and Clinton rise 1 pt

1. Fourth week at 14 pt lead (do you think they're sending us all a message)

B. Job approval at 58 -- down 2 from 60

C. Favorability at 59 no change

D. Re-elect number at 50 -- down 2

E. Dole favorability up to 53 -- up 3

May 14	48
May 22	50
May 28	48
June 5	48
June 11	51
June 19	52
June 24	50
July 2	53

Gap between Clinton and Dole favorability is at an all time low of 6 pts

While all the free media attention has focused on whether Clinton is dropping (We aren't). Nobody is paying attention to the real move: a rise in Dole's favorables

Possible reasons:

--as focus is on integrity, while we don't lose votes because of our issues, integrity is a strong suit with him and he looks better

-- with all the shots at us, nobody is taking shots at him

-- our paid media in competitive areas must, by necessity, focus on defense -- to defeat their issues to keep our lead and ultimately, our strategic control of the race

F. Verbatim Responses show: Dole ratings in verbatim mentions are relatively flat-- ---slightly more personal positives

- slightly more social issue negatives
- slightly more other issue negatives

But Clinton has highly varied verbatim ratings:

- much more personal negatives
- much more social issue negatives
- much more other issue positives

	Fav mentions	Unfav mentions
Personal Ratings--Dole	30%	22%
Social Issues -- Dole	5	10
Other Issues -- Dole	12	20
Personal Ratings-- Clinton	26	63
Social Issues--Clinton	4	23
Other Issues -- Clinton	68	25

Analysis: Clinton's lead on other issues is a blockage which holds against slippage on social issues as the right galvanizes and on personal ratings as the scandals take their toll

Solution: Continue high visibility on "other issues" it is our most important defense to either personal or social issue slippage

Specifics:

Likes about Clinton

Personal qualities	26%
Budget, Medicare, Ed etc	21%
Foreign	10
Health Care	10
For people/helps all	7
Agree/issues	7
Welfare Reform	6
Churches	4
Crime	3

2

Dislikes About Clinton

Scandals	37%
Weak	29
Social Issues	23
Budget, taxes	9
Foreign	5
Hillary	5
Liberal	4
Health Care	3
Welfare	3

Likes about Dole

Personal	30
Social Issues	5
Budget, fiscal	4
Welfare	3
Record, Accomplish	2

Dislikes about Dole

Personal, age,	22
Social Issues	10
Budget, Medicare, ed	7
Too conservative	3
Taxes	2

- Analysis --Clinton weakness too high and that can be cured
--Not enough social issue positive for Cl. Pro-choice, anti-gun has gone to sleep again
--Good progress on age offense against Dole
--Great breakthrough on our issues through free and paid media

G. Adjectives-- Clinton rises on 7 Dole rises on 4

Clinton increases

Offers new ideas +9
Vision for future +5
Does things because right +3
On my side +3

(3)

In touch with my values +2
Clear stands on issues +2
Effective, gets things done +2

Dole Increases

Flip flops -6 (loss for Clinton)
Balance budget -4
Peacemaker -2
Strong leader -2

H. Issues -- Clinton up on 5 Dole up on 2

Clinton increases:

Economy +9
Education +3
Taxes +3
Defense, Milit +3
Welfare +2

Foreign 0

Dole increases

Health care -1
Crime -4

New Comparisons:

Immigration policy	Cl 42	D 39
Balancing Budget	Cl 42	D 45
Medicare	Cl 55	D 36
Medicaid	Cl 56	D 33
Environment	Cl 55	D 25

I. Hillary favorability at 46, down 3

J. Whitewater/FBI etc.

1. More important to have President who does good than good character

a. Is doing right things for people	68
Highest moral character	27

(4)

b. Cares about people like you 62
Highest moral character 34

c. Shares your values 59
Highest moral character 35

d. Once again: public values beats private character

2. Did President Clinton do something illegal in Whitewater

Yes: 43

No 37

Of those who say yes, but vote Clinton anyway, Why--

33 Dislike Dole, better than Dole
27% good Pres, values, parent
27 He didn't do anything really bad

Reason we are holding up:

a strategy of contrast with Dole

b. Positive values message

c rapid response team defending scandals

3. Did Hillary do something illegal in Whitewater

Yes: 52

No: 28

4. Did President Clinton do something illegal in FBI

Yes: 36

No: 41

5. After argument, they oppose security privatization

a. Initially they break even 41-45; but reject idea after argument:

--only FBI has authority to do thorough review--55
--privatize would remove abuse of power--31

5

thoroughly

Analysis: Still losing on the scandals, but holding race due to issues

K. Budget Issues -- big change in our favor in blame game for failure to reach deal

1. Not much change on budget per se

a. Down 42-47 on who trust to balance budget us or Repubs (was 42-46)

1. But Clinton v Dole is 42-45

b. Up 49-40 on balance fair to all (was 51-40)

2. But big change in blame game in our favor

a. Now blame Dole for failure to get it done: D45 Cl 39 (was D38 C46)

b. Now blame Repubs in Congress for failure: R44 Cl 34 (was R44 C40)

L. Negative Campaigning -- Dole gets hurt a bit

1. Dole more negative by D52 C19 was: 47-26

2. Dole too negative by 66-28 was 67-24

3. Clinton not too negative by 34-58 Was 34-57

II NEWS TRACKING

A. Television -- Much more equal news coverage:

1. Tone of coverage

Pro Clinton 29 minutes

Pro Dole minutes: 1 minute

G7, Pos on Saudi,
Hillary trip, Gore NASA

Running mate, Saudi

Neg Dole 7 minutes

Neg Clinton 38 minutes

Tobacco

FBI, Aldrich

(1)

TOTAL HELPS CLINTON 36 TOTAL HELPS DOLE: 39

(Saudi stories were scored as Clinton positive when he spoke on camera
and not included either way otherwise)

2. Content Analysis

Saudi bombing	106 minutes
FBI files	29
Arizona Militia	19 (only 2 days old)
G7	13
Russian election	12
Tobacco	9
Okla city trial	7
Valujet	6
Aldrich book	6
NASA shuttle	5
VMI gender case	5
Sup Ct Aff Act	4
Christian Coalition	4
Foreign policy and campaign	4
Hong Kong	3
Sup Ct cable indecency	3
Church fires	1
Hillary trip	1
Campaign finance law	1

3. Day by Day

	Clinton	Dole	Other
Tues, 6-25	FBI(2 net) G7 (1) Cl and Saudi(2)		Politics-Religion(1)
Wed 6-26	G7(2) FBI(3)		Polls(1)
Thurs 6-27	FBI(3) G7 (3)	Tobacco(2)	

(7)

Fri 6-28	FBI (3) G7 (1)		
Sat 6-29	G7 (3) FBI (1) Aldrich(1)	For policy(1) Saudi(1)	Latinos and elect(1) Youth & elect(1)
Sun 6-30	Saudi Mem Svce(3) Aldrich book(3) FBI (1) Hillary trip(1)		
Mon, 7-1	FBI (1)	Running mate(1) Christ Coalition(1)	Poll(1)
Tues 7-2	FBI (2) Church fire(1) Hillary trip(2) Gore/Shuttle(3)	Tobacco(2)	Lamm(1)

B. Newspapers (based on 25 in 15 swing states)

1. Saudi bombing 43% of front pages (all every day after it happened)
2. Arizona militia 19
3. FBI 15
4. VMI Case 11
5. Saudi Memor 11
6. NASA 8
7. Bosnia 8
8. Russia elect 8
9. G7 7
10. Sup Ct S&L 5
11. Sup Ct Aff Ac 5
12. Power out 5
13. FAA 4
14. Dole vp 3

C. Impact -- from poll

(8)

1. Saudi bombing 78% heard

More likely Clinton: 43

More likely Dole 25

--pulled it out

2. Arizona militia 70% heard

Clinton: 46

Dole: 26

--should do much more to inject ourselves into story

3. FBI files 67% heard

Clinton: 32

Dole: 38

--continue to get decent break

4. G7 Summit 65% heard

Clinton: 42

Dole: 25

5. Whitewater Trial of Branscom 58% heard

Clinton: 28

Dole: 40

Hurting more than all the FBI hoopla; Starr more credible than Congress

6. Aldrich Book 56% heard

Clinton: 33

Dole: 31

-- good defense

7. Supreme Court on Affirmative Action 53%

Clinton: 35

Dole 26

8. Dole says pro choice VP is OK 38% heard

Clinton: 35

Dole: 33

--continues to blunt our social issues

9. Dems family first agenda 33% heard

Clinton: 45

Dole: 16

10. Dole considers VP in genl 30%

Clinton: 34

Dole: 25

11. Campaign finance reform killed by Republicans 22%

Clinton: 60

Dole: 39

Analysis of Scandal Issues

FBI 67% heard

Branscom trial 58

Aldrich Book 56%

Cl: 32 Dole: 38 -6

Cl 28 Dole: 40 -12

Cl: 33 Dole: 31 +2

Winning on Aldrich

Holding our own on FBI

Getting hurt by Branscom

① Dole lost story

② Temp O'connor smoking approval

③ power on smoking distribution to SOS, etc

④ power on drug

III. ADS

A. In competitive markets, we must continue to answer immigration ad

1. Always answer

2. 3 pt 42-39 lead on immigration shows its working, but still in play

①

3. As long as they run ad, we have to run rebuttal

4. Ultimately, once we defeat their ads on : immigration, taxes, crime, welfare,
and balanced budget,

we lock race in to secure framework

B. In non-competitive markets, we recommend tobacco ad

1. Reflects free media focus

2. knocks Dole favorability down

3. Could build up horse race lead

C. We have three other ads that work:

1. Newborns -- family leave

2. Stop them -- budget fight

3. Dole as Taxer

IV. HOW TO EXPAND LEAD

I believe we must move head to head up over 55% on a sustained and stable basis.
The only way to do this is legislative accomplishment. So lets keep our eye on the
ball. We need to work on passing and signing:

--Kennedy Kassenbaum

--Minimum Wage

--Welfare Reform

-- Immigration bill

--Comp time

IF we do at least these, I think we will see our head to head move over 55% and stay there

V. SAUDI BOMBING -- recovered from Friday and looking great

A. Approve Clinton handling 73-20 Big gain from 63-20 on Friday

B. Should keep troops in Saudi 58-35

(11)

1. Argument that they contain Iraq works 61-33

2. Argument that don't buckle to terrorists works 65-29

C. Security was adequate 52-40

1. But, should have known to expect bigger bomb and had stronger security in place

55-36

2. But its not Clinton's fault 18-76

VI. TRAIN TRIP

Urge immediate OK

VII. SPEECH ISSUES FOR JULY

1. At NGA in Puerto Rico, Reed says we can do executive order work requirements

2. Must grant Wisconsin waiver. Their job guarantee offer (non-entitlement) is just what we support in the Senate welfare bill we committed to sign

--cannot get into fight with Thompson over trying to make entitlement

3. Recommend you don't go to disabled vets speech in New Orleans that Hershel Gober wants you to go to

--can only hurt you. You are neither disabled nor a veteran. Dole is both

4. Should do advocacy of FCC rule on 3 hours or ed TV a week at Boys Nation

--must get credit for it and a speech right before the vote will help a lot

5. Suggest July 21 public housing event Cisneros proposes

--push a button in Newark and demolish a public housing structure in Newark and 4 or 5 around the nation

--then photo opp at good example of new public housing

6. Suggest vacation in August be in Rockies

--lots of vigorous hiking (not golfing) shots to show age contrast with Dole's Florida sunning

--Event at Yellowstone announcing deal to save park from mining

--Event in Utah designating national memorial by exec action

--take vacation during Repub conven and these 2 news events will doubtless punch through. We can get it in context of vacation, not other wise

7. Don't go to Galveston Texas at end of month

--not a target state

--can get off the hook with Gary Mauro by doing it later on, if Tex comes into play

--way too weak in swing state visits in July (no trip to a single real swing state all Month)

VIII. FOREIGN POLICY

A. Half Sample read this Dole attack:

"Clinton's indecision, vacillation and weakness of foreign policy in situations such as Somalia and Bosnia have made the world a less secure and more dangerous place --

More likely Dole: 37 less likely: 53

Dole: 39 Clinton: 55

B. Half Sample read this alternate Dole attack linked to Saudi Arabia

"Clinton's indecision, vacillation, weakness, and inaction in fighting the terrorists who killed our soldiers in Saudi Arabia has made the world a less secure and more dangerous place

More likely Dole: 40 less likely: 51

Dole: 40 Clinton: 53

C. Dole says we have no clear purpose in Bosnia and that Clinton's policy has no clear mission for American troops

More Likely Dole: 45 less likely: 45

Dole: 43 Clinton: 52

IX. TOBACCO

A. Cigarettes are addictive

Some say cigarettes are addictive because they contain nicotine -- 73

v

(Dole quote) "Smoking is just a habit some can quit easily and others don't quit. Its addictive to some and not to others -- 24

B. Clinton says ban tobacco ads aimed at children

v

Dole opposes ban. Children just say no to smoking

More likely Clinton: 62 Dole: 33

CI 54-40

X. SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

A. Want both new construction and modernization--but more modernization

New: 32

Modernize: 59

XI. NEW IDEAS

A. Expansion of Brady Bill to Domestic Violence Misdemeanors

1. Support 71-24 -- including 58% strongly support

2. Argumentation:

150,000 domestic violence cases with guns each year
Those with history shouldn't get guns --- 61

v

Bad precedent. Soon any misdemeanor will bar gun
Purchase. Then graffiti spraying or shoplifting, etc.
Just next step in making guns illegal -- 34

3. Likelihood of Clinton vote:

More: 58 Less: 33

4. Head to head

Clinton 55-39

B. Cop Killer Bullets Ban

1. Support: 77-20

2. Argument:

Political grandstanding. No such bullet now exists
that can pierce body armor. -- 23

v

Ban would stop development of bullet. Crackdown if
ever developed or sold -- 70

C.

Family Hour on TV from 8-9 PM

1. If Clinton encouraged networks to do this:

(15)

More likely: 70 less likely 29
(48 much more)

D. State should collect child support for all women

1. Regardless of income:

Should collect for all women -- 66

Only for poor who might need welfare -- 28

2. Argument:

Help any woman get support. Society wants to help children, even middle class often can't afford suit -- 59

v

No business spending money helping well-off mothers
Only get involved when chance of welfare charge -- 36

E. Use IRS to track down fathers who owe child support

82-17

Argument:

Mothers need the money. We shouldn't have to pay through welfare -- 70

v

IRS too large a role in our lives already hassles too many people without adequate reason -- 27

F. Separate Juveniles in Prisons from Adults

1. Support separation --

Currently, they are separated by fedl law. Now a bill says no separation where juvenile is tried and convicted as an adult

Supporters: juveniles who commit serious crimes shouldn't

be put in with other juveniles. --33

v

Keep all juveniles separate avoid adult corruption -- 63

G. Require Moms to name dads to get Medicaid ID

Support 79-19 (inclu 57 strong support)

H. ROTC Programs for High Schools

1. Police ROTC in high schools

84-12

2. Military ROTC in high schools

90-9

I. Employee Stock Ownership

Tax deduction for buying stock on the company they work for

59-37

Argument:

Encourages employees to take personal stake in their company: 53

Could encourage bad investment: 40

J. Tax exemption for investments in community development banks in empowerment areas

Support 76-19

K. Postage Stamp for Breast Cancer

Let people buy either 32 cent stamp or 33 cents with the extra penny going to breast cancer research

(17)

59-29

L. No Sweat Label on Clothing

Certifies no sweatshops, decent wage in production

Support 76-19

Didn't Work ---

Health insurance for all children, paid by govt

--family income under \$40,000 59-26

-- under \$30,000 62-24

But, if slight increase in taxes:

--49-49

Cop in Every High School

--Argument:

Would cut crime, violence, drugs --43

v

Better spent on other educational priorities -- 52

Ban on Liquor Ads on TV and Radio

(B)

1. Voluntary ban not honored any longer. Propose mandatory ban

58-39

2. If Clinton supported such a ban:

49 more 35 less

3. Too close to go with

No tobacco tax deductions for ads

1. 51-47

2. Argument:

Tobacco health risk for children. Ad target kids. -- 43

v

Legal product. Why single out tobacco. Others can deduct.
liquor, beer wine can deduct -- 52

3. Shouldn't push this

Let mothers sue state to collect child support

42-52

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON JULY 9, 1996

I. TRACKING -- GAIN TO 15 PT LEAD-- DOLE FAVORABLE DOWN TO 50

A. Head to head: 52-37

1. Dropped from 19 to 14 lead from May 15 to June 11
2. Then held steady at 14 from June 11 to July 2
3. Now, at last, back up to 15
4. 3 way: 50-33-11

--lead up 2 with Perot

B. Clinton ratings:

1. Job approval at 61 (up 3) -- highest since May 28
2. Favorability at 59-39 (from 59-41)
3. Re-elect number at 49 (down 1)

C. Dole favorability at 50-46 (from 53-45)

May 22	50
May 28	48
June 5	48
June 11	51
June 19	52
June 24	50
July 2	53
Now	50

Must hold him at 50%

D. Party gap for Congress: D44 R37

E. Adjectives: Up on 8, Down on 3

Clinton Gain:

Effective	+10
Doing a lot to bal budg	+10
Doing right even if unpop	+8
Strong leader	+6
Peacemaker	+6
Flip flops	+5 (Clinton improved)
Takes clear stands	+3
In touch with my values	+1

Dole Gains:

On my side	-2
Vision for future	-3
Offers new ideas	-6

Overall ratings:

Strong Clinton edge (more than vote lead)

Peacemaker	+45 over Dole
New ideas	+27
Vision	+21
Doing a lot Balance Budget	+16
On my side	+15
Effective	+15

Some Clinton edge (less than vote lead)

In touch with values	+11
Strong leader	+9
Clear Stands	+2

Dole edge

Honest and forthright	-6
Flip Flops	-34

Incredibly, Dole leads on only 2 issues

(2)

F. Issues -- 9 Clinton gain 4 Dole gain

Clinton Gain:

Foreign policy	+11 (Yeltsin win)
Immigration	+10 (WE WIN FIRST AD EXCHANGE!!!)
Environment	+ 8
Balancing Budget	+ 7
Crime	+ 4
Defense/Military	+ 2
Taxes	+ 2
Medicare	+ 2
Health Care	+ 1

Dole Gain:

Education	- 1
Medicaid	- 1
Welfare	- 4
Economy	- 4

Clinton edge over vote lead:

Environment	+ 38
Tobacco	+ 38
Education	+ 29
Health Care	+ 24
Medicaid	+ 22
Medicare	+ 21
Foreign Policy	+20
Welfare	+16

Clinton edge less than vote lead:

Immigration	+13
Crime	+10
Economy	+ 7
Taxes	+ 6
Balancing Budget	+ 4

Dole edge:

Defense and Military -11

Dole leads on only 1 issue

On liberal issues, Clinton has good leads of +21 to +38

On conservative issues, Clinton has good leads of +4 to +16

G. Importance of Issues

Education	17
Economy	17
Crime	14
Health Care	12
Balancing Budget	12
Taxes	6
Environment	5
Medicare	5
Welfare	3
Foreign Policy	2
Defense/Military	2
Immigration	2

H. Budget Battle

1. Good shift in our direction

a. Approval of our plan vs. their plan is up to 50-38 from 47-42

1. Our ads were on budget issues

b. Blame for no budget up to C 32 Repub 52 (from 39-45)

I. Negative Campaigning

1. Dole more negative by 24-54, was 19-52

2. Dole spending too much time attacking Clinton 71-21, from 66-28

3. Clinton spending too much time attacking Dole 43-49, from 34-58

a. Still 30 points up

J. News Stories -- all but the testimony worked in our favor

1. Yeltsin's re-election 85% heard

--Pro Clinton 44-25

--so even without a lot of media credit, it still helps us

2. Clinton testimony in Branscum trial 76% heard

--Pro Dole 36-42

--marginal impact, overwhelmed by other news

3. Arizona Militia arrests 72% heard

--Pro Clinton: 42-23

-militia has a good cast for us; we need anti-militia protections

--want to make it a crime to intimidate govt officials 80-18

--want more FBI power to investigate militia 60-34

--want govt list of organizations that encourage terror so
people can be warned not to join them 75-18

4. Church fires bill 71% heard

--Pro Clinton: 60-19

--our single best issue

5. Hillary's trip 63% heard

--Pro Clinton 40-26

6. Unemployment down 55% heard

--pro Clinton 49-30

--on some level, people do absorb that good eco news is pro-Clinton news

--Is unemployment at lowest level in 6 years?

Yes: 64-24

7. Meat Inspection

55% heard

--Pro Clinton 58-23

--let no one say these issues are too insignificant

--we almost decided not to do this address at least three times

8. Dole on Tobacco

51% heard

--Pro Clinton 52-23

--big winner

--does Clinton favor ad ban for kids?

74-11

--does Dole?

42-38

--they know our record, but don't know Dole's

K. Analysis of News Impact

1. If high awareness of news: Cl over Dole 53-36

... if not: 49-39

--good leading indicator

L. News Content Analysis -- vast change in tone to pro-Clinton

(6)

1. Bias of stories -- 4:1 pro Clinton

Pro Clinton 34 minutes	Pro Dole 2 minutes
Neg Dole 7	Neg Cl 8

Good for Cl: 41

Good for Dole: 10

2. Television stories of the week 7/3-7/8

1. AIDS	28 minutes
2. Russian election	17
3. Delta accident	15
4. Bosnia war crimes	12
5. Unemploy down	11
6. Meat inspection	8
7. Saudi bombing	8
8. Clint testimony	7
9. Space shuttle	7
10. Hillary trip	6
11. Church fire bill	5
12. Gun tracking	5
13. Immigration	5
14. Global warming	5
15. Hurricane	5
16. Power outage	4
17. Schiavo resigns	4
18. Candidates on 4th	4

3. TV, Day-by-day

(7)

	Clinton	Dole	Other
July 3	Churches(2)	Tobacco(1) Reagan (2)	Lamm(1)
July 4	July 4(3)	July 4(3)	
July 5	Unemploy(3) Tobacco(2)	Tobacco(1)	Reform mails ballot(1)
July 6	Meat (3) Hillary trip(3) Testimony(1)		Min wage (1)
July 7	Testimony(3)		Privatize FBI(1) Ga, redist(1)
July 8	Gun tracking(3) Dem Tobacco ad(1)	Powell(3)	HMO costs cuts(1)

4. Front Pages in Swing State Newspapers
(two days only -- Mon and Tues)

Hurricane	28%
Delta	23%
AIDS	17%
CI Testimony	13%
Bosnia	13%
Gun tracking	9%

II. IMPACT OF SCANDALS

A. Attitudes toward scandals in genl and trial in particular are structured by
basic views of Clinton and Dole

1. As such, they serve to limit our ability to move above 52-54% vote share, but
don't threaten to erode it much.

a. Likelihood to back Clinton based on Branscum trial by voter groups:

Clinton base	77-8
Swing I	45-20
Swing II	20-53

3

Dole base 2-80

--does not effect our Clinton base + Swing I, but does
impede our ability to get over 54% of vote by
hurting use with Swing II

b. Overall 22% have heard of Clinton testimony in Branscum trial, but
it doesn't make them more or less likely to vote for anyone

--this group ultimately actually votes for us by 51-30

--at the perimeter of the Dole vote lies a group of people who
follow the scandals, but vote for us anyway

B. Values offset Scandals

1. Of voters who have heard of our values issues, this week, the more they
heard, the more immune to scandal negatives they became:

If heard of Branscum testimony and heard of:

	Cl	Dole
Of voters who had heard no values issue:	34	56
If heard of only one	46	43
If heard of two or three	54	34

(The values issues were: churches, tobacco, meat)

C. Good economic news offsets scandals

If heard of Branscum and of good unemployment news	54	26
---	----	----

D. Ultimate Point --

1. To defend our 52-54% vote share against Whitewater, put out as many
values/economy messages as we can each week

a. The more the better

b. Try for one-a-day pace

2. To transcend our current 52-54% vote share in the face of scandals, we will need legislative accomplishments

- a. Kennedy Kassenbaum
- b. Minimum Wage
- c. Welfare Reform
- d. Immigration bill
- e. Comp time

E. Defense on Branscum

1. Impact of conviction could hurt, but we can contain injury with values message

Clinton accused accepting illegal camp contribs from Branscum in 90.
Branscum now on trial. If Branscum convicted of making \$20,000 illegal contrib in 90

More likely Clinton: 9

Less likely Clinton: 34

No difference: 56

2. If knew that Dole Finance Vice Chairman was fined \$1 million for making illegal contribs to Dole's current campaign for Pres

More likely Dole: 8

Less likely Dole: 41

No difference: 48

3 Good offset, but no big difference either way

III. ADS

A. Republicans are replacing immigration ad with a new ad -- likely a welfare negative

1. Welfare negative ads hurt us badly -- cause 8 point drop

2. Response brings us back past even to a gain of plus 6

a. In exchange, our rebuttal scores a 228

b. Gain in ballot +6

B. Republicans are holding their buy at \$1 million

1. We will have a match with them in 35% of the nation and will have total domination of another 20%

2. Likely a factor in widening the lead

IV. WELFARE

A. July will be welfare month in which this issue will be fought

1. We enter it with a 16 point lead on welfare reform

2. Republicans have to dislodge this to shake your margin in vote share

B. Dole's major offense will be on welfare

C. Must do Wisconsin waiver

1. Lack of entitlement or guarantees on jobs should present no problem

a. Neither Breau-Chaffee nor the Senate welfare bill included guarantees or entitlements

b. In granting this waiver, we are only permitting Wisconsin to do what we, ourselves, have indicated we would sign

c. Recommend we grant waiver with no entitlement or best efforts requirement

2. Time limits

a. Again, we are just letting Wisconsin do what we have already advocated nationally

3. Worker displacement

- a. Say that we cannot legally grant this but would support change in law to allow it

4. Minimum Wage

- a. Suggest we say that we will grant state's request to pay min wage for 30 hours per week of work
- b. But would not allow them to pay for education or training since this would drop compensation below min wage

5. Residency requirement

- a. Agree with Reed and Counsel's office that we grant a residency requirement for "the period up to 60 days for which the state can demonstrate an interest satisfying Constitutional standards."
- b. Grants state's request but makes state defend it in court

6. Medicaid

- a. Turn them down as much as you'd like
- b. 65% of voters oppose Medicaid cuts while only 25% oppose welfare cuts

D. Strongly suggest exec order on work requirements

1. Require all JOBS participants to have personal responsibility contract (covers about half the caseload)

a. Include commitment to be working within 2 years

- 1. States can then cancel the mother's share of benefits, just like in Dad ID program
- 2. If State doesn't do it, we will cut the state off

b. Urge States to waive requirement for exclusion of Moms with kids under 3 and lower it to kids under 1

Voters back exclusion for 1 or under: 57-39

But oppose 3 or under: 35-61

2. Urge states to tighten their JOBS work requirements to

- a. Count ed and training for 2 years, but not forever
- b. Limit time to look for work
- c. Can count people who are working but also on welfare

E. Suggest Puerto Rico speech to highlight impact of proposals

F. Do not suggest giving medicaid waivers

- 1. People want welfare cuts by 70-20
...but oppose medicaid cuts by 20-65

V. SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION -- KEY ISSUE, OVERWHELMING SUPPORT

A. Back "fedl funds to schools to modernize, renovate, safety, new technology and new schools"

83-16 (58% strong support)

B. Also like "universal 2 years of preschooling like Headstart"

72-25 (51 strong support)

C. If have to choose, want school construction

School construction:	65
Pre school	31

D. Proposal: \$5 billion over 2 years for 50% interest subsidy

- 1. Curent spending on school consturction is \$20 billion per year
- 2. \$2.5 billion per year at 50% interest subsidy would pay about a third of total debt service
- 3. Thus, it would leverage about \$7.5 billion per year
- 4. \$7.5 billion per year would represent one third more construction than now goes on
- 5. A highly serious step which wold be treated with great significance

VI. ENVIRONMENT -- STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR BROAD EXPANSION OF EFFORTS AGAINST POLLUTION

A. Prevention

1. Public supports creation of a new crime of conspiracy to cause pollution -- 79-16

2. Even after argumentation, still support:

Some say that such a law would permit environmental protection agencies to intervene and stop pollution, like toxic dumping, before it occurs

v.

Opponents say this would just be another law that will allow environmental bureaucrats to intervene and investigate more and more legitimate businesses and find so-called crimes where they really don't exist.

66-26

B. Use the FBI

1. People support expanding FBI role in environmental crimes -- 68-28

C. Asset Forfeiture

1. People support asset forfeiture for environmental crimes

Some have proposed that we enact asset forfeiture laws for environmental criminals like those used for drug dealers. These laws would allow authorities to seize equipment such as dump trucks and other industrial equipment used by businesses that illegally dumped toxic wastes. This equipment would then be sold and the proceeds used to help clean up the wastes.

-- 83-13

2. In extreme cases would support:

- a. Would support seizure of "factories and plants" owned by companies that generate illegal pollution and toxic dumping" -- 71-23

- b. Would support seizure of "office buildings, computer equipment and offices" owned by companies that generate illegal pollution and

toxic dumping -- 68-28

D. Superfund

1. Contrary to Washington talk, people feel it has been effective in cleaning toxic sites -- 55-35

2. But do not feel Clinton made it more effective --

More effective -- 20

About the same -- 57

Less effective -- 7

3. Would support cleaning up remaining 1000 superfund sites as important second term objective -- 58-31

E. Expand right to know legislation

1. Voters support requiring businesses to disclose where it stores hazardous or toxic materials

87-10 (68 strong support)

2. Voters support disclosure of transportation of such materials

87-9 (73 strong support)

3. After argument:

Community right to know/can raise objections 71

Bureaucratic regulation/ does little to protect public 22

VII NEW IDEAS

A. No Sweat Labels

1. Concept: "No sweat" labels in clothing, manufacturer buys label, money pays inspectors to investigate and determine if child labor or sweatshop is used; if no access or bad conditions, no label.

Support 77-18 (52 strong support)

2. People feel it would be effective if forcing firms to stop using sweatshops and child labor 55-35

3. Voters say they would only buy no sweat labels -- 71-25
4. . . . but doubt others would look for the label -- 41-53
5. Support despite arguments against: costs, won't work, circumvent systems -- 55-35
6. More likely to vote for Clinton if proposed no sweat labels -- 60-27
7. Voters give priority to child labor in no sweat labeling but would also support anti-sweatshop conditions
8. Perception that sweatshop are not extensive in America (28-56), but are in foreign imports -- 78-12

B. Hit Dole on Abolition of CPB -- Corporation for Public Broadcasting

1. More likely Clinton over Dole based on opposite stands on this issue
69-25 (45% strong support)

C. Good idea to bring in FHA cuts in closing costs to our ads

68-19

D. Hit Dole in economy ads for unemployment benefit positions

1. Clinton over Dole when know opposite positions on extending unemployment benefits 13 extra weeks during 91 recession

60-30

2. Clinton over Dole on taxing unemployment benefits

60-30

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Tobacco Contributions

While people want us not to take tobacco money by 61-21,

--but, they would be less likely to back us if we refused new tobacco money, but don't give back past money

39-41

--and they would be less likely if we refused PAC but took lobbyists

33-49

Lesson: if we switch focus to our money, we get hurt because we can't get pure enough....and we are winning tobacco anyway, so why raise it?

B. Smoke regulations in workplace -- Dangerous, support caves quickly

1. Public backs regulations against workplace smoking -- 68-28
2. And, especially backs it where conditions are crowded and ventilation is poor -- 84-14
3. BUT support evaporates after argumentation -

Supporters say that second hand smoke in crowded, confined spaces has been proven to cause diseases and might be as dangerous as actually smoking yourself. They say that people who don't smoke and are just trying to earn a living shouldn't be exposed to this danger at work.

v.

Opponents say that this is not something that should be regulated uniformly by the federal government and is something that should be left to states and local governments to decide.

50-46

C. People oppose a preference for married couples in public housing

Some people propose that 15% of all apartments in public housing be reserved for married families. Supporters of this idea say it will encourage marriage.

D. Opponents say this would be unfair to single mothers who need apartments.

Oppose 39-57

E. Tough choice on regulating HMO incentive fees....on balance suggest no

1. Object of front page, lead article in Sunday Times

(17)

A. DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

1. Suggest you choose your nominator and keynoter from the following list:

Evan Bayh
Joe Lieberman
John Breaux
Roy Roemer
Zell Miller
Dennis Archer
Ed Rendell

- a. Suggest we get a tape from each one, informally, and then do a mall test of each as a speaker

- b. Each, we feel, can be kept on a Opportunity-Responsibility message (I don't know Archer, but Sosnick says we can)

2. Suggest that you ask Gore to ask Cronkite to speak to Monday's session

-- The best of any speaker we tested -- keeps a lot of liberals off the podium -- Gore should explore what he'd like to talk about so we can see if it will work

3. Other speakers --Baer has a list of 20 people whose lives you have affected including Sarah Brady, and Mark Klaas as well as a number of lesser known people.

-- We would like to poll them and their stories -- then we would like to film the 7 or 8 that work the best -- then we would like to mall test them

-- then the winners could be used as:

seconders -- five minute inserts on prime time -- as part of the state by state roll call

- c. Suggest Dodd be chairman

6. Suggest Daschle and Gephardt be given 10 minute prime time network filmed speeches after Cronkite speaks

-- We have to give them the time -- but by doing it on Cronkite night they won't get much coverage or air time

7. Recommend that Ann Richards speak after the keynoter

- a largely negative speech attacking Gingrich and Dole
 - she polls incredibly well and people loved her speech
 - this permits the keynote to be largely positive which is important for the convention to succeed
 - kind of a positive/negative dual keynoters
8. Suggest that all Senate candidates, women senators, Jackson, Jackson's son, Daley, get "prime time speech" -- but prior to the start of network coverage
- This would make them feel good but they wouldn't get much coverage
9. Also request that you ask Gore to approach Christopher Reeve
- would be used as a seconding speech Wednesday night
10. Immediate requests for approval:
- a. Ask Gore to approach Cronkite
 - b. Ask Gore to approach Reeve
 - c. Let us approach nominator-keynoters for tapes of their speeches
- (We would say it's for a convention video)
- Please advise as to other possible names for nominator-keynoter

SAUDIS

- A. Suggest you order military to:
- prepare new security steps in all bases
 - report to you by Sept 1
- B. It will show strength, ordering something
- C. Will provide inoculation from hearings as they blame Perry
- D. Pentagon will do it anyway, why not get credit for being commander in chief and ordering it?

STUMP SPEECH

1. Don't allude to health costs of tobacco as key reason for your action as you did in Chicago on July 2 -- polling doesn't show its a very effective argument next to saving lives of 1 in 3 children
2. Refer to values issues in less tentative and more moral terms.
 - not "we ought to" but "I will fight to" or "we must"
 - too unemotional in treatment of values issues and too impersonal
3. Be tougher on church burnings
 - more passion
 - don't use it as a "first amendment argument," use it as moral and religious and personal
 - don't say arsonists are sick people who "need therapy". Dole could pounce on us if he were alive. They need jail
 - don't blame atmosphere, blame arsonists

STEPH ON REPUBLICAN CONVENTION -- Very important that he go to San Diego with his whole rapid response team

- He's doing a good job and we need him on the ground out there
- He wants to go, but is getting opposition on it.

JERUSALEM-- SUGGEST NO MOVE OF EMBASSY

1. Voters strongly support moving embassy to Jerusalem despite argument that "some people say that moving our embassy to Jerusalem would send a strong signal that we are taking Israel's side on the issue of ownership of all Jerusalem, which has never been resolved under international law." -- 67-16
2. But, if they feel it would impede peace process, would switch and oppose moving embassy -- 56-33

2. Public splits on incentives and bonuses without argument by 47-48

3. But with argumentation, they oppose incentives

Incentives needed to hold down costs	37
Incentives tempt doctors to cut care	57

4. People initially support fedl regulation of these incentives

77-20

5. But, with argumentation, it drops dramatically

Regulations would protect quality of care	52
Regulations would add more bureaucrats, costs	40

6. Conclusion: regulations won't survive argumentation and will summon memories of 94 health fight

a. If we get Kennedy-Kassenbaum, who needs this to be the health issue of the campaign??

SAUDI TERRORIST ATTACK

A. Good statement this evening

1. great that you went right out and did it
led all evening news programs

B. Defensive--

1. We need to get ahead of the story and deal with
all the Lebanon-like incompetance questions

C. Offensive---

1. There will be a defensive problem on this, most
likely. Why wasn't this done? Why wasn't that
done?
2. To get ahead of it, we need to go to military
action as soon as possible
3. Key is massive and sustained aerial retaliation
4. Must be disproportionate and ongoing

CHURCH BURNINGS

A. good statement tomorrow on firefighters that Witt has keyed up

1. switch from investigation to protection
2. initially through firefighters

B. First step in gradual escalation keyed to probable continuation of the fires

C. Next step: Get Witt \$12 million to give to states and localities to hire security guards

D. Next step: Deploy marshalls, ATF, and FBI

E. Next step: As Gobs to do limited guard unit call ups

F. Final step: Where necessary, federalization of guards

G. Each step would be propelled or cancelled based on whether the burnings continue

1. If they stop, we stop

IRAN -- G7

A. We have never really told Deutsch to come up with the juiciest morsels that prove Iran backing for Mid east terrorism in a form where you can share with the other G7 leaders

1. this kind of step has never been done at a G7 but Jamie Rubin thinks it would be a good idea
2. Chirac, for example, galvanized group by his information about what was going on in Bosnia at a past meeting
- 3, Suggest you tee this up as a big play for this G 7

AGENDA FOR JULY 24, 1996

I. TRACKING -- GOOD MOVEMENT UP. HEAD TO HEAD LEAD UP TO 18

A. Head to head: 53-35 (up from 52-36 last week)

1. We have now recouped all but 1 pt from the May slide from 19 ahead to 14 ahead.
2. Three way is 47-31-13 -- 16 pts -- same as last week
3. Gender gap: lead is +4 among men and +31 among women
 - a. we are topped out among women; need to show toughness to get men over terrorism and Saudis
4. Among Swing II we are 37 Dole -- 34 Clinton

B. Ratings

1. Clinton job approval up to 61 (from 60)
2. Favorability holds at 59
3. Re-elect number at 49, down from 51
4. All three of these ratings have ebbed and flowed within 4 points for months

C. Dole favorability at 47-48

drop from:

July 2: 53-45
July 8: 50-46
July 17: 49-47
July 23: 47-48

D. Hillary at 47-46

E. Gore at 55-31

F. Generic Congress ballot at 44-40

G. Adjectives: Gain on 3 Loss on 6

Gains	Losses	No Change
Doing right +5	Peacemaker -7	Clear stands on issues 0
Flip flops +4 better	honest -5	Effective 0
Strong leader +2	bal budget -5	New ideas 0
	Vision -2	
	values -1	
	on my side -1	

-- analysis: losses: terrorism causes peacemaker drop
bal budg ad came off
ongoing Whitewater

gains: stand up in terror and Olympics

H. Issues -- Gain on 3 Loss on 8

Gains	Losses	No Change
Environ +3	For Policy -10	Taxes 0 --victory in tax ads
Health +3	Bal Budget -6	
Medicaid +2	Crime -5	
	Welfare -3	
	Defense, Military -2	
	Medicare -1	
	Education -1	
	Economy -1	

analysis: getting pasted on total silence on TWA 800 !!!
balanced budget ad off the air
speculation about veto beginning to hurt

Clinton still leads Dole on swing issues:

Welfare +13
For Pol + 8
Economy +8
Taxes +6 -- victory in tax exchange of ads!!
Crime +5

I. Negative Campaigning -- offsetting changes

1. Who is doing more? Dole 47-25 (down from 50-23)
2. Is Dole negative? yes 68-24 -- no change
3. Is Clinton negative no 35-56 (better than 41-49 last week)

II. IMPACT OF NEWS

A. Heard of ?

1. TWA crash 99%

More likely Clinton: 30
More likely Dole: 15

(we are nowhere on this issue. Nowhere)

2. Child support enforcement 77%

More likely Clinton: 65
More likely Dole: 20

(great, great, great)

3. Clinton at Olympics 76%

More likely Clinton: 41
More likely Dole: 18

4. Clinton saying he'd approve welfare bill 73%

More likely Clinton: 61
More likely Dole: 19

(need to feed perception of approval;
suggest letter to conferees)

5. FDA nearing approval of RU 486 71%

More likely Clinton: 40
More likely Dole: 32

(dangerous for us)

6. Dole voucher plan 58%

More likely Clinton: 36
More likely Dole: 42

(his first good hit in a while)

7. Dole saying all abortion views can be
tolerated in Republican Party 51%

More likely Clinton: 41
More likely Dole: 35

(not really helping him)

8. Dole moderates views on gun control 47%

More likely Clinton 48
More likely Dole 30

(hurts Dole, doesn't help)

9. Powell to speak at convention 44%

More likely Clinton 34
More likely Dole 32

10. Clinton announces cell phones to crime watch 43%

More likely Clinton: 52
More likely Dole: 23

11. Karadzic to resign 42%

More likely Clinton 52
More likely Dole 23

analysis: look at high numbers of recall and of support for the events
we generate....

Deadbeat Dads	77% saw	65-20 for Clinton
Olympics	76% saw	41-18
OK Welfare bill	73% saw	61-19
Cell phones	43% saw	52-23

Importance of doing events every day. Not finding reasons not to do them

B. TV News Content

TWA crash	180 minutes
Olympics	55
Welfare Reform	10
Dole/Age	9
Reform Party	6
Karadzic resigns	4
RU 486	4
Clinton at Olympics	3
Food poisoning Japan	3
Dole tax cut	2
Powell to speak	1

C. TV News bias -- lopsided win for us

Good for Clinton

Pro Clinton: 8 min (Olympics, Dads, Welfare, TWA)

Neg Dole: 9 min (age)

Total: 17 min good for Clinton

Good for Dole

Pro Dole: 3 min (Powell, tax plan)

Neg Clinton :16 sec (Whitewater)

Total: 3 minutes good for Dole

D. TV news, story summary:

Clinton

Positive:

Olympics (3 net stories/ 3 minutes)
Deadbeat Dads (2 nets/1 minute)
Welfare reform (3 nets/ 7 minutes)
TWA crash comments (2 nets/1 minute)

Negative:

Whitewater testimony (1 net, 16 secs)

Dole

Positive:

Tax plan (1 net/2 minutes)
Powell to speak (2 nets/1 minute)

Negative:

Birthday/Age (5 nets/9 minutes)

E. Front Page News from Papers in Swing states

TWA	90%
Olympics	73%
Senate pass welfare	16% (first day story on 87% of front pages)
House pass welfare	10% (first day story on 50%)
FDA panel OK Ru486	9% (first day story on 73%)

Israeli-Hezbollah exchnng	
prisoners	4% (first day 22%)
Dole Bday	2%
Karadzic resigns	2%

III. CLINTON AND TWA/SAUDI ATTACKS

A. Is Clinton doing "all he can to investigate" TWA crash "and punish those responsible"

Doing all he can: 67
Could do more: 23

1. Approve of FAA handling of airport security, but just barely

53-42

2. good ratings because it just happened last week

B. But, on Saudis, public patience wears thin:

Is Clinton doing all he can to investigate Saudi bombing and punish those responsible or is there more he can do

Doing all he can: 54
Could do more: 32

1. as event ages, it takes a heavier toll on Clinton.

C. But an attack on Clinton -- Works for Dole

Out of control. Two airline disasters, one linked to terrorism. FAA asleep at switch. Terror in Saudi Arabia. Bosnia could blow up. Mid east peace process faltering

More likely Dole: 44
More likely Clinton: 36

Head to head: 50-39

D. We tested two alternate defenses to this attack: Peacemaker or Toughness (toughness worked better)

1. Peacemaker:

Clinton is peacemaker. Brought together Arabs and Israelis. Ireland. Bosnia cease fire. Use strength to bring about peace.

More likely Clinton: 51

More likely Dole: 39

Head to head: 50-39 (no recovery of lost territory)

2. Toughness:

Clinton tough. Standup for American interests. Against foreign companies doing business in Cuba. Sanctions against Iran. Anti-terrorist legislation. Held up by Republicans. Prosecuted World Trade Center bombers

More likely Clinton: 54

More likely Dole: 32

Head to head 53-37 (recoups the entire lost ground)

E. Voters back tough measures and believe in their effectiveness:

	Sup/Opp	Effect/Ineffect
1. Modern X-ray machines at airport	90-7	50-12
2. More security personnel at airports	92-6	60-13
3. Picture ID for travelers	92-6	70-26
4. Wiretap on pay and hotel phones	70-26	49-24
5. Tagents	92-6	65-14
6. INS investigate and deport aliens suspected of terrorism	90-8	60-17
7. US Military domestic intervention to aid in anti-terrorism	82-16	57-18

(these effectiveness numbers are very, very high. They are on a five point scale where voters normally use a "3" to describe their ambivalence)

F. Dole's opposition to these measures hurts Dole

**Clinton proposed expanding military role, wiretaps, tagents, but
Republicans including Dole killed these bills last year**

More likely Clinton: 67

More likely Dole: 25

G. Anti-Militia Plan

1. Highlights successful Arizona arrests

2. Includes:

**a. Advance notification of fedl and local authorities before
training or maneuvers: 77-19**

b. Inventory of weapons 66-32

c. Toughen penalties against intimidation of govt officials 80-18

d. More FBI power to investigate militia 60-34

e. Government list of organizations the encourage terror 75-18

H. Recommended Plan:

1. Air Safety event

a. X rays

b. increased personnel

2. Anti Terror speech

a. wiretaps

b. tagents

c. Posse Comitatus

d. More INS money

3. Push for terrorist bill passage by recess at Mubarak visit

4. Push for militia package

IV. DOLE MOVE TO CENTER -- DEEP BELIEF IN DOLE'S INSINCERITY

A. As indicated last week:

1. Voters feel Dole's views are "too extreme":

too extreme: 50

fit in with most Americans: 35

2. Voters say his move to center is not sincere:

Sincere: 33

Saying things he doesn't intend to do: 61

3. Voters say that Dole's move to center doesn't matter because Gingrich will pass extreme bills and Dole wouldn't veto them:

agree: 61

disagree: 36

B. This week, we tested best rebuttal to Dole centrism -- its his insincerity:

Some people say Dole knows some in Rep Party too extreme and he has shown he's moderate on abortion, assault rifles, Medicare moderation, backing for schools and environ;---

Rebuttals to Dole's centrist move

Moderate vs. can't be trusted
just trying to get elected

Moderate: 39
Can't be trusted: 58

Moderate vs. desperate to win,
changing positions, will say
anything

Moderate: 39
Desperate: 58

Moderate vs. right wing will
force him back to their

Moderate: 39
Right wing will force: 54

Moderate vs Dole weak, goes
with wind

Moderate: 43
Dole weak: 51

C. Abortion -- Dole will appoint bad judges, but they won't sway the court.
Anyway, little impact on anyone's vote

1. Dole will appoint judges who will take away a woman's right to choose

his judges would uphold choice: 27
his judges would end right to choose: 56

2. But...even if Dole named these judges, the court would still uphold
choice

uphold choice: 52
end right to choose: 33

3. If court ruled against choice, legislatures would outlaw abortion:

legislatures would make abortion illegal: 68
states would not make abortion illegal: 26

4. Do Dole's potential Supreme Court nominations make you more/less
likely to vote for him:

More likely: 14
Less likely: 34 (include 25 much less)
No difference: 51

5. Conclusion: Dole's Supreme court appointments are the best way to
attack his move to center on abortion

V. COUNTERING DOLE'S CONVENTION AND POST CONVENTION SURGE

A. Does Powell, Bush, and Ford speaking about character, wisdom and
determination of Dole make you:

More likely Dole: 38
Less likely Dole: 41

Head to head: 50-40

B. At convention, Dole will share his vision of America's future and the need for America to renew its economy through tax cuts to stimulate growth

More likely Dole: 49

Less likely Dole: 41

Head to head: 47-41

C. Conclusion: Dole can do himself a lot of good at his convention and probably will

1. Evidence indicates that he is avoiding extremism and avoiding negatives

2. We must anticipate a Dole bounce from the convention. It is quite likely

D. We tested rebuttals to Dole if he surges at his convention, as we expect

Rebuttal	Head to head	fav Dole	fav Clinton
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1. Gingrich-Dole; budget, social

Gingrich-Dole team, pass bad bills, sign them, budget cuts social legislation too: abortion, sex ed, assault weapons

58-33

34-58

67-37

2. Ging-Dole, budget

Gingrich-Dole team, pass bad cuts: Medicare medicaid, ed, environ. If Dole wins nobody there to stop them

57-34

26-66

60-37

3 Clinton accomplishments

Clinton accomplishments. Economy, ten million jobs, increase min wage. Kennedy Kassenbaum, welfare reform.

56-36

37-62

63-30

4. Dole historical opposition to programs

Dole Record: anti establishing
Medicare, anti-establishing student
loans, anti setting up head start
anti-min wage

56-36

26-67

60-30

5. Dole wrong on values issues

Dole's values wrong. tobacco,
family leave, child immune, Brady
bill, assault rifles, Medicare

55-36

24-68

59-32

6. Dole is negative

Dole too negative, character
attacks, mean spirited

54-36

24-67

56-34

7. Dole out of date

Dole no 21st cent leader, age,
younger, innovative, values on
Medicare, medicaid ed, environ

53-38

26-60

52-39

8. Dole no experience/vision

Dole no vision. 35 yrs but no
exper in administering, for pol,
economy, outdated

53-39

29-59

53-37

9. Dole backs right wing

Dole backs right wing. const ban
on abortion, assault rifles ban,
Pat Robertson agenda, backs
Reed and Christ Coalition

52-39

36-58

53-39

10. Powell and Dole disagree

Powell won't run with Dole,
disagree on abortion, guns,
Medicare. just loyal republican

51-40

29-58

50-37

VI. CONVENTION

A. Urge approval of train trip

B. Urge you to ask Gore to approach Cronkite and Reeves

C. Urge approval of following speakers list:

Keynote: Bayh

Nominator: Dennis Archer (favorable 45-11 in Michigan; 79-10 in Macomb County)

Negative Keynote: Ann Richards

Other speakers: Sarah Brady

D. Urge approval of use of nonpolitical speakers as polling indicates

Kenneth and Rosemarie Weaver (family leave)	46
Lillie Harden (ex-welfare mother, now working)	43
Capt. Josephas Rozier (American soldier in Bosn)	37
Velaída Shepard (Americorps -- at risk children)	34

Steven Sposato (wife killed in SF law office of massacre) 32

Rebecca and Craig Cummins (federal loan, became doctor) 30

Richard Dean (rescued people in Oklahoma City) 27

Catherine Hamill (9 year old, dad killed in Belfast) 27

Magic Johnson (on AIDS) 23

Dimitrio Theofians (immigrant kitchen worker, jobs, crime) 21

VII. DOLE AND SCHOOL VOUCHERS -- DEFEAT IT BY LINKING IT TO PUBLIC EDUCATION CUTS

A. From last week, support for "vouchers for public, private and parochial schools" was: 57-35

B. 58% heard of Voucher plan

More likely Clinton: 36

More likely Dole: 42

- C. But, when you explain how vouchers actually work, support drops to 47-51 because they get that money will come from public schools (among Catholics -- 51-46)

parents get vouchers. Can go to any public, private or parochial school they want. Enough to pay parochial school tuition. Parents can select other public school. Money follows child.

Catholic

support: 47	51
oppose: 51	46

- D . When you explicitly argue that money is taken away from public schools to pay for it, support crashes to 36-59 (37-57 among Catholics)

Dole says permits choice, etc.. Clinton says money is taken from public schools. As more money leaves public schools, they get worse and soon more kids leave and we won't have public schools at all

Catholics

support: 36	37
oppose: 59	57

1. When you itemize public school cuts and go back to Dole-Gingrich education cuts, voters oppose Dole proposal by 40-56 (35-58-Cath)

- E. Constitutionality doesn't work as well as an argument: only gets to 42-53 (39-48 among Catholics)

VIII. SCHEDULE THROUGH REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Tomorrow, July 25: Terrorism (re-introduce wiretap, tagents, posse comitatus which were defeated by the Republicans in the terrorist bill)

Fri. July 26: ATM Safety (cash machines) (endorses bill for mandatory safety standards at ATM machines including lighting, video cameras, tapes in cameras, visibility from sidewalk--Rubin opposed)

Sat, July 27, Radio Address: Approve Wisconsin Waiver

Sun, July 28: Disabled Veterans Convention -- you're on your own
(I fail to see what we can do to pre-empt Dole before
this particular audience)

Mon., July 29, Network Summit -- Welcome their "voluntary" decision to air
three hours per week of educational TV for children

Tues, July 30 -- Terror statement (at Mubarak event) demand that Congress pass
anti-terror package before they recess (or they have to drive
home!)

Wed., July 31 -- (scheduled as a day off, but I would urge you to do:)No Sweat
Label event in Wash.

Thurs., Aug 1 -- Economic news/speech. Release economic stats for second
quarter and use that occasion to call for staying the course
and steady implementation of deficit reduction, targeted
tax cuts, govt reinventing, education investment, and open
market trade policies. (By implication, reject any formula
which balloons the deficit)

Fri., Aug 2 -- Environment. At a toxic waste site, call for legislation calling for
making it a crime to conspire to pollute, call for an environ-
mental crimes unit in the FBI, and for some form of
restitution/asset forfeiture for environmental crimes

Sat., Aug 3 -- Public Housing blow up Newark project and cut ribbon on new
form of public housing

Theme of this week is to do what Republicans will say they
can do the next week at their convention, but to do it better

Mon, Aug 5 -- Sign Iran-Libya Sanctions Bill and give anti terrorist foreign
policy speech pledging tough action under this new law

Tues, Aug 6 -- Sign Welfare Reform Bill

Wed, Aug 7 -- in Missouri, gun event: Cop Killer Bullets, Special licenses for
possession of large numbers of handguns -- an "arsenal
license" (see New Ideas, backed 66-29). Also limit of one
handgun purchase per month (63-34)

idea: to enrage NRA and incite them to dominate convention

Thurs, Aug 8 -- Tax cut exempting home sales of under \$500,000 from capital gains taxes

Fri, Aug 9 -- Parental responsibility (let federal judges impose fines on parents as they sentence their teenagers for juvenile crimes)

Then, on the day their convention starts

Mon., Aug 12 -- Save Yellowstone Park -- Announce either agreement by mining company not to mine, or announce a prohibition on mining due to encroachment on wetland areas for storage facilities

Fri., Aug 16 (day after their final gavel) Order Creating Red Rock Natl Monument in Utah. (these two events both override the intent of riders the Republicans sought to attach, unsuccessfully, to appropriation bills)

Mon, Aug, 19 Receive report on Saudi base security and announce its implementation.

Tues., Aug 20 -- Receive and implement report on national system to track child abusers and go to NJ to the site of Meagan tragedy

IX. DOLE ECONOMIC/TAX CUT PLANS

A. Could provide a way for Dole to move into the forties

1. More/less likely to vote for Dole if he proposed 10% across the board tax cut

more likely: 43

less likely: 48

2. If he proposed repealing Clinton's 93 tax increases:

more likely: 48

less likely: 46

3. If he proposed repealing Bush's and Clinton's tax increases:

more likely: 46

less likely: 45

4. Argument -- targeted tax cuts work as answer

Dole says stimulate eco growth, productivity -- 36

vs

Cl says targeted, not across the board tax cuts -- 59
(college, \$500 per child, IRA for ed, med, home buy)

5. Argument -- if repeal Cl tax hike, then can defend hike as only on rich

Dole says repeal Clinton taxes. Slowed eco growth, hurt people --36

vs

Cl says only increase on above \$140,000 -- 56

X. DRUG ATTACK ON US

A. Approve of Clinton job on drugs by 55-40, about same as head to head

1. Believe Clinton is doing an equal job to what Bush did on drugs

Better: 37

Worse: 38

2. Believe Clinton is doing a better job than Reagan did on drugs

Better: 49

Worse: 34

B. An attack on Clinton on drugs doesn't work

Clinton failed to lead fight against drugs. Former drug users on White House staff. Clinton no inhale, increased drug use among teens

More likely Dole: 38

Less likely Dole 49

Head to head: 54-38

C. Rebuttal by Clinton works well

Raised fedl anti drug funding in schools. Dole-Gingrich tried to cut it. McCaffrey. Drug arrests, seizures up. 100,000 new cops. Dole tried to cut.

More likely Clinton: 67
Less likely Clinton: 34

Head to head: 55-37

D. Conclusion: Fear not.

XI. NEW IDEAS

A. IRS collects child support from delinquent fathers:

Support: 84 (64 strong support)
Oppose: 14

1. Important element of acceptance speech plan
2. IRS would routinely deduct payments along with taxes from weekly paychecks for delinquent fathers
3. But not from fathers who owe support but are not delinquent (30-67)

B. Use of Internet for Crime Fighting

1. for citizen tipoffs, most wanted and missing children lists.

support: 82-9 (include 48 strong support)

38-24 it will be effective in fighting crime

C. International Organized Crime

--no safe haven in America for intl criminals, criminal action in US against those who attack Americans abroad

Support: 86 (include 65% strong support)
Oppose: 10

D. New anti-gun measures

1. On Brady Bill extension, we will wait until police organizations have made their endorsements (Rahm's advice)

2. Limit of purchase of one handgun per month 59-38

Support: 59

Oppose: 38

(unusually large opposition)

a. Argument: in effect in Virginia to stop illegal resale in NY

vs.

one more gun control on slippery slope

(63-34)

3. Special license to own large number of handguns to limit ability to amass arsenal

Support: 66

Oppose: 29

E. Meth

1. Heard of drug called Meth? 47-52

2. If Clinton proposed strong measures to stop importation of materials used to make Meth, a new amphetamine...

More likely Clinton: 60

Less likely Clinton: 21

F. AIDS Testing

1. require AIDS testing of all pregnant women who give birth

Support: 70

Oppose: 25

2. Argue: If positive test, drastic steps can be taken, replace blood supply of infant, avoid AIDS

v

Not need to require all to get tested. Discourage women with AIDS from getting adequate care during pregnancy

still support: 54-36

3. If Clinton backed mandatory AIDS testing of all pregnant women

More likely Clinton: 52

Less likely Clinton: 36

G. HMOs

1. Do HMOs take shortcuts on quality of patient care to save money?

Agree: 74

Disagree: 15

2. Support/oppose requiring all HMOs to inform patients about all treatment options, not just lower cost option

Support: 90

Oppose: 6

3. Argue: Important patients be able to make choices about care based on all information

v

Requiring doctors to tell patients is excessive regulation

still support: 86-7

4. Support/oppose allowing doctors in HMOs to tell patients about treatment alternatives without being penalized by HMO

Support: 82

Oppose: 9

5. In view of strong support, recommend we do it, especially the stronger measure to requiring that patient be informed

H. GIRL SPORTS IN SCHOOL

1. Girls sports fair and equal treatment and funding in public high schools?

Treated equally: 26

Not treated equally 62

2. If Clinton proposed equal expenditures:

More likely Clinton: 63

Less likely Clinton: 25

AGENDA FOR MEETING ON AUGUST 1, 1996

I. TRACKING -- LEAD HAD DROPPED TO 17, BUT AFTER LAST NIGHT'S INTERVIEWS RETURNED TO 18 (53-35)

A. Head to head

1. For Monday and Tuesday nights, lead was 52-35.
2. Last night after welfare signing, it jumped to 54-35 (19 points)
3. Combined head to head -- 53-35
 - a. Welfare bill signing made voters more likely to vote for Clinton by 70-19
 - b. Perhaps a bit of rally around the Chief was behind last week's gain to 18. This might be a normal correction.
 - c. But all around positive news gives us good potential for growth
 - d. Moment of uncertainty:
 - Atlanta, Saudi, TWA, legislative issues
 - with accomplishments, investigative and legislative, vote should move up

B. Job Rating is at new all time high of 63-36

1. Strongly disapprove is down to all time low of 20%.
2. Favorability at 61-38
 - a. at all time high -- highest since June 11
3. Re-elect is at 51 -- at its all time high
4. Right track: wrong track is at 42-right and 49-wrong
 - a. highest since Gulf War
 - b. highest in your administration
 - c. Olympics beat terrorism
5. Dole Favorability holds at 47-48 (same as last week)
 - a. continues to be held down below 50
6. Hillary Favorability at 51-41

7. Congressional advantage at +11

a. all time high

b. big move up from +2 - +7 range of previous polls

1. may be aberration

C. Adjectives -- up on 9 down on 3

Improvements:

Offers new ideas	+8
vision for future	+8
Peacemaker	+8
On my side	+5
Honest	+4
Clear stands	+3
In touch values	+2
strong leader	+1
Bal the Budget	+1

Declines:

Doing right even if unpopular	-10
Flip Flops	- 5
Effective	- 1

D. Issues -- Up on 9 down on 1

Improvements:

Crime	+12
Economy	+ 7
Foreign Policy	+ 5
Education	+ 4
Environment	+ 4
Welfare	+ 3 (to '16 pt lead)
Health Care	+ 2
Defense, Mil.	+ 2
Medicare	+ 2

Declines:

Medicaid	- 2
----------	-----

(no change in Bal budg or Taxes)

-- (we continue to win the tax exchange and hold 6 pt lead on taxes)

E. Negative Campaigning

1. Dole seen as more negative by 21-53 (up from 25-47 last week)
2. no other real changes

F. Impact of Dole Hollywood speech on Independence Day

- | | |
|-------------------------|----|
| 1. More likely Clinton: | 38 |
| More likely Dole: | 30 |

--isn't working

G. News Content

1. Top TV stories

Atlanta bombing	110 mins
TWA 800	81 mins
Olympics	39 mins
Welfare rfm	14 mins
Airline security	8 mins
WH Terrorism smt	6 mins
CI & Airline Safety	5 mins
Dole & Hollywood	4 mins
Valujet	4 mins
Kids Educ'l TV	4 mins
CI & Atlanta bomb	3 mins

2. Bias of TV stories

Good for Clinton

Pro Clinton: 33 mins (TWA families visit/airline security, response to Atlanta bombing, anti-terrorism measures, kids' educational TV, will sign welfare bill, taxpayer bill of rights, trade sanctions)

Neg Dole: 1 min (gender gap)

Total: 34 mins good for Clinton

Good for Dole

Pro Dole: 11 mins (Hollywood speech, Bush endorsement, running mates, small business tax breaks, on terrorism/Atlanta)

Neg Clinton: 3 mins (Whitewater trial/Hillary and Livingstone)

Total: 14 mins good for Dole

3. Summary of TV stories

Clinton

Positive/neutral:

TWA families visit/airline security (3 net stories/5mins)

Cl response to Atlanta bombing (3 nets/3 mins)

Anti-terrorism measures (7 nets/13 mins)

Children's educational TV (3 nets/4 mins)

Will sign welfare bill (3 nets/7 mins)

Signs taxpayer bill of rights (1 net/1min)

Cl denies Pollard clemency (1 net/1 min)

Cl and trade sanctions (1 net/1 min)

Cl and Oly gymnast (1 net/1 min)

Negative:

Whitewater trial (3 nets/1 min)
Hillary & Livingstone (1 net/2 mins)

Dole

Positive/Neutral:

Hollywood speech (3 nets/5 mins)
Bush endorse (2 nets/1 min)
Running mates (include. Mack, Keating) (3 nets/4 mins)
Tax breaks for small biz (1 net/1 min)
Dole and Oly gymnast (1 net/ 1min)
Dole on terrorism/Atlanta (3 nets/1 min)

Negative:

Gender gap (1 net/1 min)

Other

Health insurance deal (5 nets/3 mins)
Tobacco money in politics (1 net/1 min)
Reform party candidates (1 net/1 min)
Camp finance bill loses (1 net/1 min)
Buchanan & Rep convention (1 net/1 min)
Welfare reform passes (1 net/2 mins)

4. Front-page stories in swing states

1. Atlanta bomb 68% (out of 5 days story could have appeared)
2. TWA 55%
2. Educational Kids TV 55% (out of 1 potential day for story)
4. Airline Security 50% (2 days)
5. Olympics 49%
6. FEC Complaint 26% (1 days)
against Chr Coalition
7. Welfare bill passes 21% (2 days)

II. TERRORISM -- SOLUTIONS HAVE TO STAY AHEAD OF THE PROBLEMS

A. Heard of/Impact of Stories:

1. Bomb in Atlanta: 99%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 34-20

no political impact

2. Investigators saying TWA was likely destroyed by bomb 97%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 32-24

no political impact

3. Clinton's plan for airport security 94%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 54-15

answers work

4. Clinton meeting with TWA families 84%

a. More likely Clinton v Dole: 50-16

5. Clinton's anti terrorist bill 67%

a. More likely Clinton: 54-17

B. Trust Clinton more than Dole by 48-33

C. Approve of Clinton on terrorism 72-26

1. Clinton is acting like a strong leader in response to terror 61-30

2. Clinton is moving swiftly to counter terror vs. dragging feet 54-30

3. But our efforts are seen as scattered

a. Coordinated plan: 35 Scattered: 48

D. We are winning the personal battle for strength; but need to be seen as having more solutions and more coordination among solutions

1. If we ever let problems get ahead of solutions, we risk Israeli precedent
2. People now are not worried about their safety 23-74 (and 33-52 after argumentation designed to scare) but that could switch in a hurry unless we are out there with solutions-- aggressively and constantly

E. Approve of three part formulation on terrorism:

- international cooperation, sanctions on Iran and Iraq
- expand FBI powers and death penalty
- airport security

75-16

1. But, demand more measures beyond these by 62-33

F. Then, approve of three new measures:

- wiretap
- taggants
- Defense Dept involvement

84-14

1. Still some appetite for even more: 48-45

G. If learned Clinton backed terror package and Dole, Gingrich opposed them:

More likely Clinton: 63
More likely Dole 27

1. Huge negatives against Republican opposition on taggants. Big error.
2. Suggest we get a wiretap bill passed now and keep pressing for taggants

a. Don't get political and anti-NRA, let the public do that, instead just stay on high road about how important taggants are

b. Constantly press for taggants

H. Possible new measures against terror:

1. Using undercover agents to infiltrate suspected terrorist organizations

93-6 Effective: 60-11

2. Economic sanctions on countries that harbor terrorists or assist terrorists even if they didn't explicitly sponsor terrorist act

82-16 Effective: 50-25

3. Military action against suspected terrorist installations in nations that harbor terrorists or assist terrorists even if they didn't explicitly sponsor a terrorist act

77-21 Effective: 45-23

4. Use military domestically and abroad to pursue terrorists

77-19 Effective: 39%

I. Possible new measures against domestic militia:

1. Context: We didn't lose lives in Arizona, or in Washington State, or due to the Georgia militia. We stopped them just in time. Now, enact bold anti militia agenda so we don't have to play this kind of roulette with the lives of our people.

a. Advance notification of fedl and local authorities before training or maneuvers: 77-19

b. Inventory of weapons: 66-32

c. Toughen penalties against intimidation of govt officials 80-18

d. More FBI power to investigate militia 60-34

e. Govt list of organizations that encourage terror 75-18

2. This is the fifth agenda in which these ideas have been proposed. Please get Justice to get them moving

J. Attack on Clinton doesn't work as well as last week on terror:

1. "With Clinton in charge, things are out of control. Airline disasters, bad FAA, Saudi bombing, Bosnia could explode. Terror. Iran Syria (not updated to include Atlanta to provide comparability)

More likely Dole: 46 (last week was: Dole: 55
More likely Clinton: 47 Clinton: 45)

Head to head: 51-40 (had been 50-39)

- a. Still is an anti-terror argument for Dole to aim at Clinton weakness
- b. Must move debate to anti-terror bill so as to avoid allowing Dole to exploit our weakness on this
 1. Recommend signing limited anti terror bill now; but as we do, continuing to push for perfect package when Congress returns
 2. As long as there is an unfinished agenda looming, we have insurance against more attacks

III. RESPONSE TO DOLE'S ECONOMIC PLAN

A. Dole plan of:

--across the board tax cut
--\$600 billion
--FICA deductible
--\$500 per kid credit

more likely Dole 59
less likely: 33

moves horse race to Cl 52 Dole 41

deduction of FICA on income tax is popular by 65-27

(after argument still popular by 57-31)

B. Three Answers tested:

1. Hypocrite-Don't rock the boat-Targeted Tax cuts

more likely Clinton 65-25

horse race to Cl 59 Dole 33

(split sample)

2. Deficit-Don't rock the boat-Targeted tax cuts

more likely Clinton 68-26

horse race to Cl 57 Dole 34

(split sample)

3. Comparison of Plans: factual

favor Clinton plan 59-33

horse race Cl 59 Dole 34

4. Conclusion

a. Hypocrisy and don't rock the boat are more important than swelling the deficit

1. He's "repealing the Dole tax hike of 1990"

b. Use targeted tax vs. across the board comparison

IV. ADS

A. Now have tax vs. tax ad exchange still going on.

1. With welfare now ended as an issue for them; taxes aren't working either. Corruption isn't working for them. So they have nothing left except positive economic plan and Dole's "innate charisma"

B. Also now have economy spot on the air laying basis for attacking Dole's plan

1. Urge switch to anti plan ad as soon as he announces it.
2. Will follow the above line of argumentation

V. THE BIG CHOICE: POST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

A. Republican Convention is likely to produce bounce:

1. When told that convention would feature Powell, Bush, Ford and Dole would offer new tax cuts, vision of America, stimulate economy

head to head Clinton 49 Dole 40

B. If Republican convention causes bounce, we have three alternate ways of fighting it:

1. Attack Dole's plan (gets CI vote to 59)
2. Attack Dole-Gingrich link and program (nobody there to stop them) (gets CI vote to 61)
3. Stress Clinton Accomplishments: jobs, welfare, Ken Kassen, Min wage (gets CI vote to 56)

C. We need to poll this right after their convention to make decision.

D. As things now stand, alternative 2 -- stop them has an edge

VI. SCHEDULE

August 1 Economic Data and Warning about Rocking the Boat

August 2: No Sweat Labels

August 3: Sign Pesticide or Clean Water Bill

August 5: Foreign Policy Speech

August 6: Sign A bill (Welfare, Ken-Kassen, Min Wage)

August 7: Girl Sports in High School (at Olympic ceremony)

August 8: Parent Responsibility for Crimes of their Children

August 9: Sign A bill

(if we get min wage, welfare, and KK, we might need another bill day)

August 12: Yellowstone Park

August 15: Saudi Base Briefing and Action (right before Dole's speech. Makes evening news right before he speaks)

August 16: Utah Park Red Rocks

August 21: Meagan's Law; announcement of national network to track abusers

VII. CAPITAL GAINS HOMEOWNER EXEMPTION

A. Support exempting homeowners from capital gains when they sell

62-29

B. Don't care at what level of money exemption kicks in

1. If profit under \$500,000 56-35

2. If profit under \$200,000 59-32

3. If sales price under \$500,000 59-32

4. If sales price under \$200,000 62-28

C. Arguments:

encourage new construction, more homes, lower cost

vs

costs billions better spent elsewhere

58-32

D. Dole is going to move on this on Monday. Suggest we do it during Saturday radio address

VIII. RU 486 -- a 50-50 split in country; now way out of it; but not voting issue

A Public breaks even 49-47

a. 32 strong support 38 strong oppose

B. Argument:

Avoids surgery, 15,000 serious complications annually; danger of going to clinics with violence

vs

deregulation of abortion; any reason at all; irresponsibility; slaughter unborn

47-49

C. Argument:

Can't hold back science. If alternative to surgery, govt can't tell people not to use it

vs

deregulation of abortion etc.

48-49

D. If Clinton approved of selling the pill and Dole opposed it

More likely Clinton: 51
More likely Dole: 38

E. They are deeply divided; set in their ways. Won't be persuaded, but won't shift votes based on it

IX. STUMP SPEECH

We tested three paragraphs that you have been using ---

Summary:

1. "election is about how we raise our children" 36 strng 70 total
2. "opportunity, responsibility, community" 32 strng 70 total
3. "We've got to do this together....magic is helping each other do better" 29 strng 65 total

---children and opptunty-resp-comm work best

---don't let unity eat up too much of the speech; it doesn't work as well

Full texts:

1. Children:

- help families raise children
- Repub Congress not cooperated
- tobacco ads
- immunizations
- environment laws
- college tax credit
- character and values of children

2. Opprtny Responsbty Community

- enduring values in new age
- Offer opportunity, demand responsibility
- mutual obligation come together as community
- help families help themselves
- govt can only help; Americans must do their part
- meet responsibilities, take advantage of opportunities

3. Unity

- We've got to do this together
- helping each other do better makes us magic
- don't define ourselves by resentments or looking down on somebody who looks different
- this makes us special

X. NEW IDEAS

A. College Savings Accounts

If Clinton proposed letting parents save money which fedl govt would invest for them and, if they contributed a certain amount, such as \$10,000 for a young child, govt guarantees free college

66-29

If Clinton proposed this:

More likely: 74-23

B. Inflation indexed savings bonds -- Rubin Bonds

If Clinton proposed savings bond guarantee 3% return above inflation so as inflation rose, so would interest to keep pace plus 3%

69-27

C. Tax deductible savings bonds if used for education

74-23

D. Make inmates pay for cost of imprisonment, including work off while in prison

79-16

E. Rohypnol

1. Heard of drug which induces hypnosis and has been used in date rapes around the country

46% yes

2. If Clinton proposed banning it?

More likely: 58-21

F. Adoption

1. If Clinton wanted to encourage adoption and end years of waiting in foster care:

-- require no interracial bars by states

--limit of 1 year in foster care before declaring child adoption eligible, unless extraordinary circumstances

78-16

G. Ethanol -- Can be cut for funds to be used for other things

1. Sample in: Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin:

Currently, tax subsidy for ethanol, mix gas and alcohol. Supporters say cuts gas use, helps farm economy. Opponents say wastes billions

Repeal subsidy: 50

Keep subsidy: 32

a. If Clinton repealed ethanol for cut in cap gains for poor areas
to get jobs for welfare recipients

More likely Clinton: 68

Less likely Clinton: 20

b. If Clinton repealed ethanol for cut in homeowner cap gains

More likely Clinton: 63

Less likely: 30

XI. MISC

Medicare "cut" or "not a cut"

Rep budget increased Medicare payments from \$4800 to \$7100
Clinton calls it a cut, but its not. Clinton's numbers don't add up

More likely Clinton: 56

More likely Dole: 41

head to head: 56-36

so, it's a cut after all